This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

14465
45 (1)

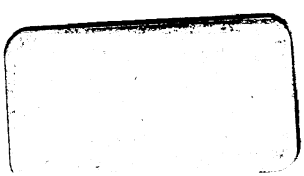
Digitized by Google

14465.45 (1)

HARVARD COLLEGE
LIBRARY

FROM THE BEQUEST OF
MRS. ANNE E. P. SEVER
OF BOSTON

Widow of Col. James Warren Sever
(Class of 1817)



Digitized by Google

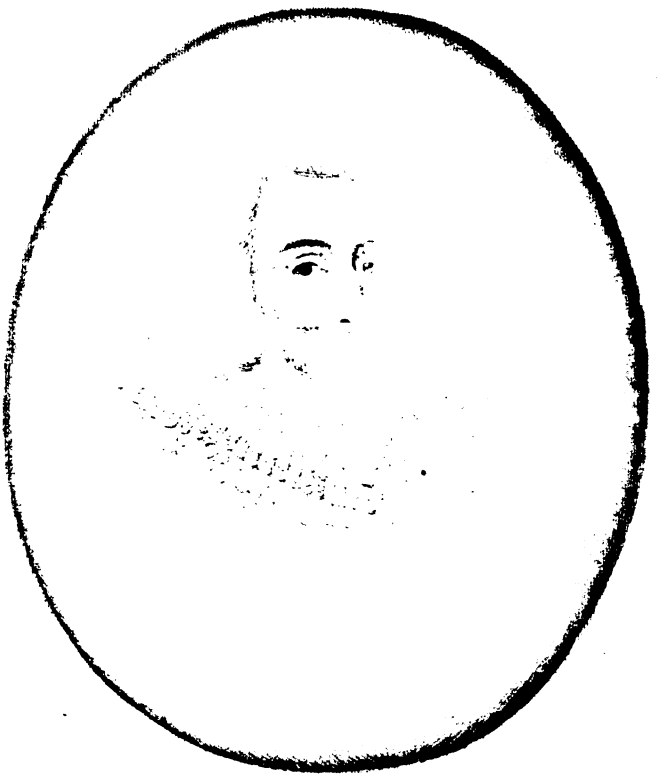
Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google



Engraved by W. Holl, from an original Painting at Port Eliot.

SIR JOHN ELIOT, KNT

A.D. 1628.

Digitized by Google

Sir John Eliot's

"Monarchie of Man,"

Etc.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

THE

MONARCHIE OF MAN,

BY SIR JOHN ELIOT.

(1590—1632.)

NOW FOR THE FIRST TIME PRINTED: FROM THE AUTHOR'S MANUSCRIPT IN HARLEIAN COLLECTION. (NO. 2,228.)

Edited, with Introduction, Notes and Illustrations, Steel Portraits and Facsimiles, &c.

BY THE
REV. ALEXANDER B. GROSART, LL.D., F.S.A.,
ST. GEORGE'S, BLACKBURN, LANCASHIRE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

INTRODUCTION AND NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

PRINTED FOR PRIVATE CIRCULATION ONLY.

1879.

Digitized by Google

14465.45.(1)
14465.45
HARVARD UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
XP524

CHISWICK PRESS: C. WHITTINGHAM, TOOKS COURT,
CHANCERY LANE.

Digitized by Google

THE 100 SUBSCRIBERS.

1. HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN.
2. H. W. Adnit, Esq., Lystonville, Shrewsbury.
3. Thomas Ainsworth, Esq., Solicitor, Blackburn.
4. Professor Angus, Regent's Park College, London.
5. H. F. Bailey, Esq., London.
6. Royal Library, Berlin, per Asher & Co.
7. Balliol College, Oxford, per Rev. T. K. Cheyne, M.A.
8. Bodleian Library, Oxford, per Rev. H. O. Coxe, M.A.
9. Boston Athenæum, Mass., U.S.A., per E. G. Allen, Esq.
10. Boston Public Library, Mass., U.S.A., per Low, Son & Co
11. Henry Bradshaw, Esq., M.A., for University Library, Cambridge.
12. W. E. Briggs, Esq., M.P., Blackburn.
13. British Museum, London.
14. Thomas Brocklebank, Junr., Esq., Liverpool.
15. W. Cunliffe Brooks, Esq., Manchester.
16. H. T. Hamilton-Bruce, Esq., Edinburgh.
17. His Grace the Duke of Buccleuch, Dalkeith Palace.
18. The most Honble. the Marquis of Bute, London.
19. J. H. Chamberlain, Esq., Grange House, Birmingham.
20. Messrs. Chapman and Hall, London.
21. Chetham Library, Manchester, per Mr. Richard Hanby.
22. Thomas Chorlton, Esq., Manchester.

Digitized by Google

23. The Lord Coleridge, London.
24. Archibald Constable, Esq., Edinburgh.
25. F. W. Cosens, Esq., London.
26. The right Honble. Viscount Cranbrook, London.
27. The right Honble. the Earl of Derby, Knowsley.
28. Derby Free Library, per Mr. Thomas Heath.
29. His Grace the Duke of Devonshire, K.G., Chatsworth.
30. The Rev. Dr. Dickson, Glasgow University.
31. Rev. J. W. Ebsworth, M.A., Molash Vicarage.
32. C. H. Elt, Esq., London.
33. Exeter College, Oxford, per Rev. C. Boase, M.A.
34. His Honour Judge Falconer, Usk.
35. F. F. Fox, Esq., Bristol.
36. Samuel A. Gardiner, Esq., London.
37. H. Hucks Gibbs, Esq., London.
38. The right Honble. W. E. Gladstone, M.P., Hawarden.
39. Edmund W. Gosse, Esq., London.
40. Gottingen University Library, per Asher & Co.
41-42. Rev. Dr. Grosart (Editor).
43. Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A., per Trubner & Co.
44. William Harrison, Esq., F.S.A., Samlesbury Hall.
45. Benjamin Haynes, Esq., Clevedon.
46. C. E. H. Chadwyck Healey, Esq., London.
47. The Lord Houghton, Fryston Hall, Ferrybridge.
48. R. Hopwood Hutchinson, J.P., Blackburn.
49. Dr. Ingleby, Valentines, Ilford.
50. Lieut. Alfred Jewell, Portsea.
51. Richard Johnson, Esq., Alderwasley Hall, Derby.
52. John Kershaw, Esq., London.
53. John Kershaw, Esq., Audenshaw.
54. Charles Lilburne, Esq., Sunderland.
55. F. de Mussenden Leathes, Esq., London.
56-7. W. J. Linton, Esq., Newhaven. Conn., U.S.A.
58. The most Honble. the Marquis of Lothian, Newbattle Abbey.

Digitized by Google

59. John E. T. Loveday, Esq., Williamscote, Banbury.
60. J. Mansfield Mackenzie, Esq., Edinburgh.
61. T. A. Middleton, Esq., London.
62. John Miller, Esq., Glasgow.
63. Professor Morley, London.
64. John Morison, Esq., Glasgow.
65. Herbert New, Esq., Evesham.
66. Rev. Horace Newton, M.A., Beechwood, Driffield.
67. G. W. Nichols, Esq., The Ham, Cowbridge.
68. Dr. Brinsley Nicholson, London.
69. John Oakey, Junr., Esq., London.
70. Cornelius Paine, Esq., Brighton.
71-2. F. T. Palgrave, Esq., LL.D., London.
73. Peabody Institute, Baltimore, M'd., U.S.A., per E. G. Allen, Esq.
74. Albert Pike, Esq., Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
75. Rev. James Porter, M.A., Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge.
76. Rev. W. Poole, M.A., Hentland, Ross, Herts.
77. Very Rev. Father Purbrick, S.J., Stonyhurst College.
78. Horace N. Pym, Esq., London.
79. The Reform Club, London, per H. Campkin, Esq.
80. The most Honble. the Marquis of Ripon, Studeley Royal.
81. Mr. Robert Roberts, Boston, Lincolnshire.
82. Rev. Dr. Salisbury, Thundersley Rectory.
83. Rev. Dr. R. S. Scott, Glasgow.
84. John Shelley, Esq., Plymouth.
85. A. G. Snelgrove, Esq., London.
86. Very Rev. the Dean of St. Paul's.
87. The right Honble. the Earl St. Germans, St. Germans.
88. Imperial Library, Strasburg, per H. Karl J. Trubner.
89. Algernon C. Swinburne, Esq., London.
90. C. J. Thomas, Esq., Bristol.
91. J. M. Thomson, Esq., Edinburgh.
92. Trinity College, Dublin, per Hodge, Foster & Co.

Digitized by Google

93. Frederick Vinton, Esq., for Princeton College, New Jersey, U.S.A.
94. R. S. Watson, Esq., Newcastle-on-Tyne.
95. James Watts, Esq., Cheadle.
96. John Weston, Esq., Northwich.
97. G. H. White, Esq., Glenthorne.
98. John Walker, Esq., Glasgow.
99. William Wilson, Esq., Hyde Hill, Berwick-on-Tweed.
100. B. Perkins Wright, Esq., J.P., Stafford.

This is to certify that the entire impression of this reproduction of Eliot's "Monarchie of Man" has been rigidly limited to 100 *copies, of which this is No.* 43.... *Proofs and waste sheets have been destroyed.*

Digitized by Google

To the Memory

OF

SIR JOHN ELIOT

ON PRINTING HIS

"MONARCHIE OF MAN."

I BARE MY BROW ACROSS TWO HUNDRED YEARS
TO THEE, O ELIOT! A STRANGE, SWEET SADNESS
IS IN THY FACE; AND OH, IT STIRS TO MADNESS
OUR SOULS E'EN NOW, TO READ, 'MID FIERY TEARS,
THY WISE, CALM BOOK; THAT NEITHER HEEDS NOR FEARS
ITS LONG NEGLECT. FIT, THROUGH AN AGE OF BADNESS,
THAT IT SHOULD HIDE. MORE TENDER NOW OUR GLADNESS
TO BRING IT FORTH AND PLACE IT WITH ITS PEERS.
HIGH-SOULED! GREAT-HEARTED MAN! OUR ENGLAND NE'ER
HAD NOBLER. AMID CRAVENS, BRAVE AND TRUE;
'MID VICIOUS, STAINLESS; IN WHAT SPHERE SOE'ER,
FOUR-SQUARE. DEEP HOMAGE TO THEE! OF THE FEW
WHOSE LIVES LIVE AFTER THEM THINE DO WE OWN:
HOW MEAN, IN CONTRAST, HIS WHO FILLED THE THRONE.

ALEXANDER B. GROSART

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

TO

WILLIAM GORDON CORNWALLIS ELIOT,

FOURTH EARL OF ST. GERMANS,

I DEDICATE

THIS BOOK OF HIS ILLUSTRIOUS ANCESTOR;

GLAD TO KNOW THAT

SIR JOHN ELIOT

IS HELD BY HIM AND HIS HOUSE

IN PROUD AND GRATEFUL

REVERENCE.

ALEXANDER B. GROSART.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

CONTENTS OF VOL. I.

	PAGE
I. List of the 100 Subscribers	1-4
II. Sonnet to the Memory of Sir John Eliot . . .	9
III. Dedication to the Right Honourable the Earl of St. Germans	11
IV. Preface	15
V. Introduction.—I. Biographical	23
II. Critical	98
VI. Notes and Illustrations	193

*** (Steel) Portrait of Sir John Eliot (1628) . *To face title-page.*

Of this portrait Mr. John Forster thus writes: "This earlier [portrait] belongs to the present year [1628/9], and was copied for interchange with Hampden's, when other intercourse was denied the friends. The painting is not by a master, but the face has left upon it the stamp of its own greatness. Its shape is wedge-like, as Raleigh's was; and in the lofty and calm breadth of the upper portion, is very noble; but it is from the general grace and refinement of feature, the firm, grave sweetness of mouth, and the large, luminous, dark, and flashing eyes, that the qualities look out upon us still, which Mr. Waller very naturally wished to have enlisted on the side of the cause he pleaded so earnestly." ("Sir John Eliot: a Biography." 2 vols. 8vo. 1864: vol. ii. p. 348.) Of the other portrait (in vol. ii.) see Note under contents therein. See also p. 20 of our Preface.—G.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

PREFACE.

IN our Introduction, full and minute details will be found concerning the Manuscript of the "Monarchie of Man" from whence this first printing of it has been taken. Thither also the Reader is referred for information on the circumstances—pathetic as any in all literature—under which this final "fair copy" was made, drawn from the illustrious Author's correspondence as preserved at Port Eliot. Here I wish to state certain things that it seems expedient to notice:—

(*a*) My guiding principle in this, as in all my reproductions of our elder literature, has been to furnish the *ipsissima verba* of the Author. That is, I have not in any way modernized or polished, or at all tampered with the wording, spelling, or involute grammatical forms, or the like, of the Manuscript. The Student accordingly may rest confident that he has before him the treatise in absolute integrity. I am willing to bear the blame of this stringent adherence to the original wording.

Digitized by Google

(*b*) The punctuation has given me considerable labour and thought. A critical reading satisfied me—as well as qualified literary friends,—that what looks like a comma (,) in the MS., was often meant by Eliot for a period (.). The comma unless for this would be almost the only punctuation employed. Even as it is, a period with a small letter commencing a new sentence may at first puzzle; but with a comma only, all had been confusion. Consequently a period (.), with (sparingly) colon (:) and semicolon (;), has been substituted for the comma when required.[1] Similarly the (;) must frequently have been written (as in Greek) for the interrogation sign; and so we change it to (?). I fear that after all the pains taken, the punctuation will be found occasionally perplexing, or rather, demand thoughtfulness; but I am quite sure that ours is as order to chaos. In our revision and *minimum* correction of the punctuation, I have been greatly helped by my inestimable friend and fellow-worker, the Rev. J. W. Ebsworth, M.A., Molash Vicarage.

(*c*) Should any Reader compare our text with the large quotations given by MR. JOHN FORSTER, in his "Biography" of SIR JOHN ELIOT (vol. i. pp. 581-616 *et alibi*), he will discover that all too-frequently his readings are misreadings. It is a pain to me, but it is necessary, to say, that spite of his fine enthusiasm and devotion to the memory of Sir John Eliot,—and I must add his unqualified severity on

[1] John Dickenson's "Arisbas," "Greene in Conceipt," &c. (1590-92), are printed with a period and small letter in next sentence.

Digitized by Google

Isaac D'Israeli's "Eliot Correspondence,"—Mr. Forster has fallen into surprising inaccuracies. This is inevitably shown in our Introduction. It is a truism that in all such matters friendship must give way to truth, or as Eliot's favourite Cicero put it, *Amicus Plato, amicus Socrates, sed magis amica veritas.*

(*d*) In our Notes and Illustrations, &c., explanations are given of (1) Contractions or abbreviations in the MS.; (2) References and names other than trite ones; (3) Noticeable words. The marginal classical quotations and references are reproduced exactly as in the MS. It had been uncalled-for pains to have traced out these more minutely. *As a rule,* I have found them strangely inaccurate, though occasionally correcting modern critical texts, *e.g.* of Plato. (See Note before Vol. II.).

(*e*) In the Introduction, I have limited myself almost wholly to an account of the TREATISE now reproduced. That is to say, I have not attempted the superfluous task of anything like a full Memoir of its Author. The main facts alone in the Life are briefly told, after Mr. Forster. Those at all interested in the Book will know that among his varied services to historic-biographic literature, MR. JOHN FORSTER has earned undying gratitude from lovers of "this England" by his "Sir John Eliot: a Biography." Than this and related works (*e.g.* "Grand Remonstrance" and "Arrest of the Five Members") there are no more substantive, truthful, judicial, or fresh contributions to the study of these great but tragical periods. As with Carlyle's Cromwell and J. L. Sandford's "Studies and Illustrations

Digitized by Google

of the Great Rebellion" (1858), and Goldwin Smith's historical Essay-Studies, and Samuel R. Gardiner's great "Histories" and "First Two Stuarts and the Puritan Revolution," the labours of JOHN FORSTER have made it thenceforward an *anachronism* to go on accepting traditional-Royalist and Cavalier falsities and caricatures for the truth of the matter. At this late day surely men may be agreed to render justice to great memories on both sides? Loyalty is all very well as a *sentiment*, and Monarchy, in England at least, a political convenience, so long as the sovereign keeps within the lines of the constitution. But when the sentiment degenerates into a superstition, and loyalty is demanded irrespective of the monarch's adherence to the constitution and of character, one's gorge rises. Personally, I can understand poor Sambo bowing down to his fetish of a stick and feathers or sorry rags; for his Mumbo-jumbo (if I give the name correctly) is to him a god. But what if Sambo no longer believed in the divinity of his fetish, contrariwise found it out to be a mere stick and feathers? How then should we estimate his continued worship? Similarly I can fully sympathize with the many gallant and noble Cavalier spirits who flung themselves away in a splendid paroxysm of loyalty to their idealized sovereign. They shed their "blue blood" like water for him, and beggared their houses onward to our own day. Consequently I cannot think of them save with wet eyes. But the mystery and sorrow is that men who could not fondly continue to believe—to name no more—a James I. or a Charles I. or II.

Digitized by Google

"divine," should so abjectly have prostrated themselves to them and held them for objects of "loyalty" and worship; held them as more to be considered than their Country, let them be and do what they might. I for one must refuse to side with Cavalier against Roundhead. It is simple matter of historic fact that the Roundheads alike in their leaders and followers were, man for man, co-equal in gentle blood, and brains, and even culture, with the Cavaliers; whilst in *morale* (to go no higher) comparison were an outrage (exceptions understood). Then we are told by those from whom it is saddening to hear it, that "one" (being a "monarch") is better than the "many" (called "mob," "vulgar," &c. &c.). But such forget that even were their premiss true, historically in relation to the kings named, and for whom this unreasoning "loyalty" is sought, we never have been governed by the "one." What a Comus crew surrounded James I. and Charles I. and Charles II.! What creatures—through them—ruled our England! What penalties after-generations have had to pay for lack of plain-speaking, in the long fight for our civil and religious freedom of to-day!

If I am passionate, it may well be excused, coming as I do from study and re-study of the infinitely great, tender, and beautiful story of Sir John Eliot—a great and good man judicially murdered by his sovereign, and dishonoured by him even when his wasted corpse lay in the Tower.

I know not that I can more fitly round my inadequate words than with JOHN FORSTER's dedication of his "Biography":—

Digitized by Google

"TO ALL
WHO VALUE THE REGULATED LIBERTY ENJOYED IN ENGLAND,
WHO ATTRIBUTE ITS PRESERVATION TO A POWERFUL LEGISLATURE,
AND WHO HAVE ANY INTEREST IN KNOWING
WHAT WAS DONE AND SUFFERED TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTY YEARS AGO
TO ESTABLISH THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,
I OFFER THIS ACCOUNT OF
SIR JOHN ELIOT.
J. F."

(*f*) I have been enabled to adorn my volumes with the two priceless portraits of Sir John Eliot from Mr. Forster's "Biography"—agreeably to kind promise—by the liberality of the present proprietors, Messrs. Chapman and Hall, publishers; also with a new fac-simile of the title-page of the "Monarchie of Man." The fac-simile of the handwriting of Sir John Eliot beneath the earlier portrait, corresponds with the MS., only it is more carefully done than is the treatise, and gives little idea of the toil of deciphering Eliot's autograph.

(*g*) Vol. II. contains the "Monarchie of Man" complete in itself: Vol. I., on the other hand, furnishes *apparatus* for the critical study of the treatise. By this arrangement those who wish to get Sir John Eliot's book untroubled of editors or commentators may, if so it please them, put Vol. I. aside and retain Vol. II. Yet I venture to hope that if light be wanted at any point, it will be found in our Introduction, Notes and Illustrations, &c.

Digitized by Google

The name of Sir John Eliot symbolizes a prodigious and epoch-marking conflict in our national history and in the making of England; his book of the "Monarchie of Man" reveals the type of man by whom the Kingdom and Law were held supreme over King and Personal Rule. It may do us good to link on both with Matthew Arnold's "Revolutions":—

"Before Man parted for this earthly strand,
While yet upon the verge of heaven he stood,
God put a heap of letters in his hand,
And bade him make with them what word he could.

"And Man has turn'd them many times: made Greece,
Rome, England, France:—yes, nor in vain essay'd
Way after way, changes that never cease.
The letters have combined: something was made.

"But ah, an inexting uishable sense
Haunts him that he has not made what he should:
That he has still, though old, to recommence,
Since he has not yet found the word God would.

"And Empire after Empire, at their height
Of sway, have felt this boding sense come on,
Have felt their huge frames not constructed right,
And droop'd, and slowly died upon their throne.

"One day, thou say'st, there will at last appear
The word, the order, which God meant should be.—
Ah, we shall know *that* well when it comes near:
The band will quit Man's heart:—he will breathe free."[1]

ALEXANDER B. GROSART.

April 26th, 1879.

[1 Poems. Second series (1855), pp. 122-3. Eheu! eheu! that such a Poet should go on multiplying prose on "sweetness and

Digitized by Google

light," and "making for righteousness," and the like, when his "golden mouth" is for Poetry if ever mortal's has been. Such perversity of neglect of a supreme gift is heart-shattering. Let no one part with the original and early editions for (so-called) collected texts of Matthew Arnold.]

Digitized by Google

INTRODUCTION.

I. Biographical.[1]

SIR JOHN ELIOT was of good descent. One ancestor, through an intermarriage, was Sir Thomas Elyot, whose "Boke named the Gouernour" (1531) is still *quick* and memorable. John was born at Port Eliot, on the 20th of April, 1590. He was thus a Cornishman, with the grand blood of Devon in his veins, and from the outset was surrounded with scenes and circumstances fitted to excite a taste for rough adventure. It appears that his father was "a man of easy habits," who kept open house for all comers. His early associates were probably, therefore, more numerous and miscellaneous than worthy. A semi-mythical story of his youth—magnified and mistold by political enemies—shows him as "wilful" and impetuous—fruits of paternal indulgence. I find nowhere information on his mother.

[1] Quotations when not otherwise stated are derived from Forster's "Biography," as before.

Digitized by Google

He lost his father in June, 1609, when he was in his twentieth year. He had then been at the University from 1607. "He became," says Anthony Wood, "a gentleman commoner of Exeter College in Michaelmas term, anno 1607, aged 15" [nearly 17]. He left the University "without a degree," after studying there "about three years." Doubtless his father's death had to do with the abrupt termination of his college career. That he had read much, and to purpose, he afterwards abundantly showed; for, as his biographer claims, in "quickness and completeness of classical allusion Eliot had no rival in Parliament." His books of the "ancient learning" came to be his soul's life-blood. More than this, "to the habits and commencements of this early time, must also be ascribed the fervency and simplicity of his religious belief." I think of him as exemplifying Milton's splendid portraiture of the Lord President Bradshawe. If not technically a Puritan, from youth to manhood he had their gravity, purity, faith, and absolute acceptance of God's Word. Thence he fetched strength and impulse, integrity of principle and aspiration. Nor for the trying closing time alone did he thus find consolation and peace. "The Book" and the God of the Book in Jesus Christ, were "interspersed with all his habits of thinges," and sustained him "in every part of his career." Yet was he no recluse or dreaming meditator. He was full of all activities, and loved "manly exercises," after the type of Sir Philip Sidney; whose temperament and tastes his very much resembled. I am old-fashioned enough to stand up for the "ancient learning" at School and Uni-

Digitized by Google

versity, and yet modern enough to side with Charles Kingsley and "muscular Christianity." Combine the two proportionately, and we may indulge the hope of a revival of the old English "gentleman."

Eliot, after leaving the University, "went to one of the Inns of Court, and became a barrister." He had no intention to practise. But long ago—how long ago!—it was thought essential that men of birth and station in their several counties should have knowledge of "the common law of England." Our Justice Shallows and justices' justice would not be the opprobrium they are to-day if it were still held obligatory that those to whom it falls to discharge the duties of justices of peace should know something practically of the law they are called to administer, affecting largely the populations of their neighbourhood. Surely that were better than the fitful interference of a Secretary of State, as we are now humiliated to witness all too frequently.

When next Eliot is heard of "he is travelling on the Continent, as had become also very generally the custom of young men of family and fortune." It may be noted that on these travels our Worthy met young George Villiers, and journeyed with him to various places. Their paths diverged later immensely. His Letters on "Travel" hold their own with those more famous of Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke. It is not difficult to discern profound influences for good on his after-life from these journeyings in France and Italy and elsewhere. Sensitively impressionable, and gifted with an uncommonly nimble and re-

Digitized by Google

tentive memory, his observation of men and manners and incidents of experience, coloured his mode of speaking "in the House" and writing—as the "Monarchie of Man" reveals.

In the winter of 1611 he married Rhadagund, the only daughter of a Cornish squire of considerable fortune—Richard Godie of Trebursey. "Of his wife," Forster informs us, "whose memory he cherished with tenderness, Eliot was unhappily deprived by death, in 1628, before the first recess of the memorable Parliament of that year, after she had presented him with several children—John (born in October, 1612), Richard, Edward, Bess, and Nicholas," and others.

Soon after his marriage "the House of Commons opened its doors to him." The Biography proved (for the first time) that he was "undoubtedly a member of the Commons' House upon the assemblage of James's second parliament" in 1614. He was thus in his twenty-fourth year when he took his seat. This he did "as member for the borough of St. Germans," within which his residence and estates lay. His associates, on his entry, were men who "were now beginning the career that has identified their names with our English history. I can but recall Rokeby, Philips, Pym, Digges, Luke, Wentworth, Bacon. A speech of "Courts and Undertakers," still preserved at Port Eliot, demonstrates that the youthful M.P. had even then farsightedness, and acumen, and pungent phrasing. The events from 1614 to 1619 belong to history. It was the bad time of Somerset. The "Monarchie of Man" tells

Digitized by Google

us what he thought of the "tragedy" of Sir Thomas Overbury's death; tells us, too, inferentially, that he was a spectator of Sir Walter Raleigh's execution. One's heart beats faster on reading the softly-told but noble story of the damning crime of James "to pleasure the Spaniard."[1]

In his twenty-ninth year, after the appointment—a very *fantastique* of foolish choice—in January, 1619, of the Marquis of Buckingham as Lord High Admiral of England, his intercourse with his old travelling companion was renewed. Soon after Stukley's disgrace, Eliot is found "doing duty as vice-admiral of Devon." He obtained the patent of his office in 1619, direct from Buckingham. In May, 1618, he had received "the dignity of knighthood." The office of vice-admiral was then an onerous one. He was virtually the 'working,' and the Lord Admiral the 'ornamental,' head of the naval administration. During the absence of his official superior on that unhappy Spanish journey, "to play the game of the Court," a much-noised occurrence took place, and brought him to the front. The "capture of Nutt the Pirate, 1623"—a brave and memorable act, against many odds, and, above all, against venal opposition "in the Court," Forster has vividly narrated and enforced. Eliot was put in the Marshalsea, and Nutt was—pardoned. "With what feeling," says the biographer, "the Lord Admiral viewed the long and monstrous imprisonment of his own officer and representative, for gallantly protecting the sub-

[1] See "Monarchie of Man," vol. ii. pp. 158, 159.

Digitized by Google

ject and spiritedly enforcing the laws against a man who had passed his life in plundering and outraging both; and whether Eliot's liberation was even at last attributable in any direct way to himself, no one has cared to record for us."[1] I, for one, like to think that the ascertained date of release of the vice-admiral, as synchronous with the return of Buckingham from Spain, was something more than coincidence. Be this as it may, the "shed blood" of Raleigh made hatred of Spain burn in him flamingly; and he too deeply shared the national "sense of deliverance from Spain," when the "Infanta" project was (in hope at least) wrecked, to think much of his own wrongs amid the universal joy. But what a commentary on the "right divine of kings to govern wrong" is the imprisonment, thus early, of such a man, on such pretexts as were adduced! One asks, wonderingly, if a king be human or God in the creed of your ultra-loyalists? or whether an enthroned wrong-doer, seeking to rule without his Parliament, is unpunishable? Certes James and Charles I., over and over, forfeited their crowns and even their lives, if Law has any divinity in it. Forster heads one of the chapters on Nutt v. Eliot "Justice WITH Respect of Persons." The "Last Two Parliaments" of James (1620-1 and 1623-4) bulk largely and memorably in history. The "Conquest of the Palatinates," the "Spanish Marriage," and the King's eagerness for it; the "Protest of the Commons of England against Popery," and the King's

[1] Forster, as before, p. 86.

Digitized by Google

"tearing out of the record" from the journals; the sinister influence of Laud; the "Spanish journey;" the "Death of James,"—are landmarks "for all time." In the Parliament of 1623-4 Eliot was returned as member for Newport. His speeches therein survive and ring still. His opinion and counsel were looked for, throughout. It was soon—very soon—discovered that he was a born leader. He stood forth prominent in the House, when there were giants there. Patriotic, fearless, eloquent, self-possessed, he commanded an ever-widening influence. His biographer thus summarizes his position: "The position of Eliot at this time was in every way striking. Though not practised in debate, he was already not only a leading speaker, but accepted as mediator between two sections of what were called the country members—those who had 'undertaken' for the manageability of the Commons on certain conditions obtained from Buckingham, and those who resented all such undertaking upon doubt of its expediency or of the sincerity of the parties to it. The House had manifestly been impressed by the practical turn of all the speeches he had made; by his courageous and frank assertion of their privileges; by his choice of such points of a subject in debate as his public experience in the naval administration gave him most authority to treat; even by the known facts of his old connection with Buckingham; and, besides his powers of eloquent expression, by his business-like decision of tone. But his ability as a speaker, pre-eminent as it was, would never so quickly have obtained for him this position, if the independence so constantly

Digitized by Google

denied to him in later times had not been unreservedly conceded to him by his contemporaries; and it was the fact of his being able honestly to combine with it so ardent an advocacy of the war as to become practically the most efficient supporter as well of the 'undertakers' as of Buckingham, which gave him so important a place in the present deliberations" (i. pp. 148-9). Very noble was the position thus occupied. They were "perilous times." The air was full of whisper and treachery. Corruption and oppression ruled in high places and offices. "The cries of vexed subjects," only one who was himself true and pure could have caught up and made articulate. Sir John Eliot was that one.

The year 1624-5 finally parted Eliot and Buckingham. The Laud-named "rascal," James Bagg, intrigued successfully. With the death of James came omens of evil, portents of agitation, mutterings and shadows of a fast-nearing tempest. The accession of Charles I. brings us face to face with "the opening scenes of one of the grandest conflicts in which the men of one generation ever engaged, to secure the happiness and freedom of generations that were to follow." The MS. of Eliot entitled "Negotium Posterorum" remains to us, and, by record of incident and speech, bears us back to the very time and "among the very men." I must refer the reader thither in Forster.[1] There the long-concealed secret of Buckingham and the King's treason to the country

[1] See i. 209-445, *et alibi*.

Digitized by Google

will be found disclosed. "Ground of quarrel" with the Commons was plotted for, not shunned. Happily for England, Eliot, to whom, all unconsciously to Buckingham, the "secret" came, resolved "That noe respect of persons" —even the King—should make him "desert his countrie." The "Last Two Days at Westminster" (1625) brought the "proposal" for "additional supply," with the ever-memorable result of inevitable refusal. "Negotium Posterorum" must now for a minute or two be turned to, with Forster's elucidations: "The Duke [of Buckingham] had resolved to punish the House of Commons for their late disaffection to himself, and the rod which was to make them smart for it was preparing. On this very day, "being but the daie before," he overbore Williams at the council, and carried what he had determined. So ended all hope of any future right understanding. The miserable strife set in that was to last to the close of the reign. Eliot stops at this point to dwell upon the temper now shown by Buckingham; to describe the effect produced, by rejection of his proposal, on his intercourse with even his dependants; and to deplore the misery which awaited England from that wanton and unbridled will. It was doubtless the turning-point of the destiny of Charles I.; for if the young king had started with a disposition to treat the Commons fairly, he would have kept at his side the most powerful and most loyal of his subjects, who were then the trusted leaders of that House. As it was, he sacrificed everything to the man of whom Eliot proceeds to speak in these weighty and pregnant words:—"'That unexpected

Digitized by Google

issue to the duke caus'd likewise a new trouble and disorder. All his privados were condemn'd, as remiss and negligent in the service. His friends were all complain'd of, thus to have fail'd his hopes. Everie man was blam'd, but him that was most faultie. What he intended in his corrupt reason, or affection, to *that* he would have had even the Heavens themselves consenting. Soe unhappie are such persons, through the distractions of their greatness; that successe they thinke must follow the Via Lactea of their fancies, and that the rule of that, naie of the world itself, should be ever by the proportion of their wills; and rather than fail therein, if the superiors be not flexible, the infernal powers shal be studied, with their arts. That was the infelicitie of this man; and at this time it first open'd and discover'd, though not cleerlie, but by shadows. Being disorder'd in his purpose, which almost noe man yet did know, he condemns both his fortune and his friends. But for himself, nothing was less resolv'd on than that which was most necessarie. *Noe retraction of the course!* That which had beene, because it was done by him, must be both justified and maintain'd. And that justification must appeare in the appellation of the worke, by a future persecution that was worse. This evil consequence followed quickly" (i. pp. 306-7). Eliot's stand for the privilege of the House to "adjourn itself" is historical. In July and August, 1625, Parliament met at Oxford. "Captain Pennington"—a genuine sea-king—the "free pardon" of the Jesuit at Exeter, named by Sir Edward Giles, and Eliot's speeches thereon—"Richard Montagu"—"Speech by Sir

Digitized by Google

Francis Seymour and dismay of the courtiers"—"Reply by Sir Humphrey May"—"Speech by Philips on Impositions"—"Speech" by Sir Edward Coke—"Great" Speech by Sir John Eliot, with "precedents" from Sir Robert Cotton—Littleton's "Warning against over-taxation"—the "Dissolution" of Parliament. These successive names and things again belong to history; and all have place in the full Biography of our Worthy.[1]

The second Parliament of Charles I., in 1625-6, is amply described by Forster. I can only give the suggestive headings of Book VII., as thus: "Eliot at the Fleet's Sailing and Return—Eve of the Conflict—Leading the Opposition—the St. Peter of Newhaven—Eliot and the King—Buckingham Impeached—Eliot sent to the Tower—The Remonstrance and the Dissolution." Eliot was a foremost actor in the great drama which these headings mark out. What Burke was to Hastings, Eliot was to Buckingham in the "Impeachment." There lies the heart of the mystery of Charles I.'s relentless antagonism and unslakable thirst of revenge. Here I must quote in full at once the narrative and speech of Eliot from Forster, so central is it in his life and fate, and in relation to the "Monarchie of Man," now being introduced; for it was the foreshadow of the ultimate imprisonment. In this memorable Impeachment, apart from the presentation of the facts of each charge separately, so assumed by the managers, two duties of more importance were reserved.

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 316-445.

Digitized by Google

Sir Dudley Digges was to open the proceedings in a "prologue," and to Sir John Eliot was committed the task of winding up the whole in an "epilogue." That "epilogue" was fortunately written out by its speaker. I take it, with connecting links, from the "Biography:"—

"'My lords,' he began, 'you have heard, in the labours of these two days spent in this service, a representation from the knights, citizens, and burgesses of the commons house of parliament, of their apprehensions of the present evils and sufferings of this kingdom; of the causes of those evils; and of those causes the application made to the person of the Duke of Buckingham; so clearly and fully, that I presume your lordships now expect rather I should conclude, than that anything more or further should be added to the charge.

"'You have heard how his ambition has been expressed, by procuring the great offices of strength and power in this kingdom, and in effect getting the government of the whole into his own hands. You have heard by what practices and means he has attained them, and how money has stood for merit. How they have been executed, how performed, it needs no argument but the common sense. To the miseries and misfortunes which we suffer therein, I will add but this: that the right, the title of the seas, the ancient inheritance of our princes, the honour of this land, lost or impeached, makes it too apparent, too much known. I need not further press it. But from hence my observation must descend upon his other virtues, as they come extracted from those articles which you have had delivered.

Digitized by Google

And this by way of perspective I will give so near and shortly, that I hope your lordships shall conceive it rather an ease and help to excitate your memories than to oppress your patience.

"'My lords, I will take the inward characters, the patterns of his mind, as you have heard them opened. And first, his collusion and deceit; crimes in themselves so odious and uncertain, that the ancients, knowing not by what name to term them, expressed them in a metaphor calling them *stellionatus*, from a discoloured beast so doubtful in appearance that they knew not what to make it. And thus, in this man's practice, we find it here. Take it in the business of Rochelle. First to the merchants, by his arts and fair persuasions drawn with their ships to Dieppe, there to be entrapped. Then to the king and State, with shadows and pretences colouring that foul design which secretly he had plotted against Rochelle and religion. Then to the parliament, after his work was finished or in motion, and the ships given up into the Frenchmen's hands, not only in disguising but denying the truth of that he knew. A practice as dangerous, as dishonourable to us, both in the precedence and act, as in the effect and consequence it proved prejudicial and ruinous to our friends!

"'The next presented was his high oppression, and this of strange latitude and extent; not unto men alone, but to the laws, nay, to the State. The pleasure of his majesty, his known directions, his public acts, his acts of council, the decrees of courts—all must be made inferior to this man's

Digitized by Google

will! No right, no interest, may withstand him. Through the powers of State and justice, he has dared ever to strike at his own ends. Your lordships have had this sufficiently expressed in the case of the St. Peter, and by the ships at Dieppe.'

"Some movement here among his audience appears to have reminded Eliot of the existence of a royal warrant in that case; and of excuses that might be, that indeed already had been, founded upon it. He knew it, for the warrant to Pennington was in his own hands. But now, as he did ever, he turned steadily aside from all attempts of others to fix the king with responsibility, that he might himself more resolutely fix it on the minister. At the same time some one privately whispered to him that the ships had now been returned.[1] He paused a little, and resumed:—

"'My lords, I shall here desire you to observe one particular more than formerly was pressed, concerning the duty of his place in this. Supposing he might, without fault, have sent those ships away, especially the king's; supposing that he had not thereby injured the merchants, or misinformed the king, or abused the parliament; supposing even that he had not done that worse than all this, of now seeking to excuse himself therein by entitling it to his majesty; nay, my lords, I will say that if his majesty himself were pleased to have consented or to have com-

[1] "Sir Dudley Carleton afterwards made it a charge against Eliot that he was 'informed in the house and privately told' as to this point, but that he went on as if it had not been said to him.—*Journals*, i. 859."

Digitized by Google

manded, which I cannot believe; yet this could no way satisfy for the duke, or make any extenuation of the charge. For it was the duty of his place to have opposed it by his prayers, and to have interceded with his majesty to make known the dangers, the ill consequences that might follow. And if this prevailed not, should he have ended there? No; he should then have addressed himself to your lordships, your lordships sitting in council, and there have made it known, there have desired *your* aids! Nor, if in this he sped not, should he have rested without entering before you a protestation for himself, that he was not consenting. This was the duty of his place; this has been the practice of his elders; and this, being here neglected, leaves him without excuse. I have heard it further indeed spoken as excuse, that the ships are now come home; but give me leave, I beseech your lordships, in prevention to object to that (though I confess I know it not), that it lessens not his fault. It may commend the French, but cannot excuse him, whose error was in sending them away. When the French once had them they might have kept them still, for aught I know, notwithstanding all his greatness. Certainly we do know only too well that they executed, to perfection, their work against Rochelle and religion!

"'The next your lordships had was his extortion, his unjust exaction of £10,000 from the East India merchants without right or colour. And this you heard exquisitely expressed by the gentleman who had that part in charge, who mathematically observed the reason upon which it proceeded and was enforced. He revealed to you that

Digitized by Google

secret of the seas in taking of the wind, which at the Cape they have at known and certain times; and many of your lordships would probably observe that the skill so timely used was gotten recently in the late voyage, *to which you know who sent him.*'[1]

"Here, at this bitter and sarcastic reference, well understood, to the late gross and lawless attack on Glanvile's liberty, Eliot again heard murmurs from those around him, as if his purpose had been mistaken and he intended to refer to the king; and one of the lords themselves turned to the peer next him with a remark hardly audible (that 'it was the king sent Glanvile'),[2] to which he at once replied.

"'Because I hear a mention of the king's sacred name in this, I must crave your lordships' leave thus far to digress as here to make this protestation, which I had in charge

[1] "The allusion is to the subjoined passage in Glanvile's speech on the 6th article. Glanvile, I ought to have stated, had been sent, upon compulsory appointment, by way of punishment and to prevent his possible election to parliament, as secretary to the fleet in the Cadiz expedition. 'Well knowing how great a hindrance it would be if the ships should be stayed, in regard that if they did not sail at that time, then by reason of the course of the winds called the monsoons, which were constant six months easterly and six months westerly every year, in the parts of Africa about the Cape of Bona Speranza, of which winds, &c. &c.'—*Parl. Hist.* vii. 78."

[2] "'And here,' says a marginal note to the manuscript from which I quote, 'one of the lords interposed a criticism and censure *that it was the king who sent him*; which, being overheard, there was occasion taken for the protestation following.'"

Digitized by Google

from my masters the knights, citizens, and burgesses of the commons house of parliament, that in nothing we intend to reflect the least ill odour on his majesty or his most blessed father of happy memory, but with all honour of their names we do admire them, and only strive to vindicate their fames from such as would eclipse them.

"'After this, my lords, followed the corruption, the sordid bribery of him whom I now charge, in the sale of honours, in the sale of offices. That which was the ancient crown of virtue is now made merchantable, and justice itself is a prey to this man. All which particulars, as you have heard them opened and enforced with their several circumstances, reasons, and proofs, to show what in themselves they are, what in their consequences, and what they may now merit, I presume I need not to dilate, but, your lordships, knowing all so well, leave them to your judgment.'

"His next subject was the wicked prodigality of Buckingham's expenditure. He placed beside it the wants of the kingdom, connected with it some dark suspicions of the people, and hurled forth the daring invective with prodigious effect. These passages were the subject of report and inquiry afterwards; but it did not seem that in performing a necessary part of his duty by adverting to one of the charges in the impeachment, Eliot had spoken with unwarrantable excess. The act charged, altogether irrespective of motive or of purpose, was truly and at the least, as the commons described it, one of transcendent presumption and dangerous consequence. There was no question

Digitized by Google

that it had been committed, and as little that it provoked suspicion, not at the time only but very widely since;[1] and whether Eliot believed or not that it involved a darker crime, it may be allowed to one who has no such belief to say that he was quite justified in applying to it the language he borrows from Cicero.

"'And from hence I am raised to observe a wonder, a wonder both in policy and nature. For not less is it that this man, so notorious in ill, so dangerous in the State, so disproportionable both to the time and government, has been able to subsist and keep a being. But as I confess it for a wonder, so must there also have been art to help and underprop it, or it could not have continued so long. To that end, therefore, your lordships will have noted that he made a party. He made a party in the court, a party in the country, a party in almost all the places of government, both foreign and at home. He raised, and preferred to honors and commands, those of his own alliance, the crea-

[1] "It was even found necessary, upon the lapse of the impeachment by dissolution of the parliament, to quiet the feeling that prevailed by going through the pretence of filing an information against the duke in the Star Chamber, in order to procure a formal 'acquittal' from the charge by a constituted authority in the State! In connection with this a curious revelation will shortly be made. Mr. Brodie ('Brit. Emp.' ii. 123-130) has collected with much care all the facts and authorities; and though I cannot agree in his conclusions, the case presented is undoubtedly startling. To find the suspicion even momentarily entertained by such men as Selden, Glanvile, Wandesforde, and Eliot, is also in itself disquieting."

Digitized by Google

tures of his kindred and affection, how mean soever; whilst others, though most deserving, nay all that were not in this compass, he crossed and opposed. And having thus drawn to himself a power of parties, a power of honours, a power of offices, and in effect the powers of the whole kingdom, whether for peace or war; and having used these to strengthen and add to his alliances; he then, for his further aggrandizement, set upon the revenues of the crown, interrupting, exhausting, and consuming that fountain of supply. He broke those nerves and sinews of the land, the stores and treasures of the king. That which is the blood and spirit of the kingdom, he wasted and consumed. Not only to satisfy himself, his own desires and avarice, but to satiate others with pride and luxury, he emptied those veins in which the kingdom's blood should run, and by diversion of its proper course cast the body of the land into a deep consumption. This your lordships saw in the opening of that point concerning the revenues. What vast treasures he has gotten, what infinite sums of money, and what a mass of lands! If your lordships please to calculate, you will find it all amounting to little less than the whole of the subsidies which the king has had within that time. A lamentable example of the subjects' bounties so to be employed! But is this all? No: your lordships may not think it. These are but collections of a short view, used only as an epitome for the rest. There needs no search for it. It is too visible. His profuse expenses, his superfluous feasts, his magnificent buildings, his riots, his excesses, what are they but the visible evidences of an

Digitized by Google

express exhausting of the State, a chronicle of the immensity of his waste of the revenues of the crown! No wonder, then, our king is now in want, this man abounding so. And as long as he abounds, the king must still be wanting.

"'But having thus prevailed in wealth and honours, he rests not there. Ambition has no bounds, but like a violent flame breaks still beyond; snatches at all, assumes new boldness, gives itself more scope. Not satisfied with the injuring of justice, with the wrongs of honour, with the prejudice of religion, with the abuse of State, with the misappropriation of revenues, his attempts go higher, even to the person of his sovereign. You have before you his making practice on that, in such a manner and with such effect as I fear to speak it, nay I doubt and hesitate to think it. In which respect I shall leave it, as Cicero did the like; *ne gravioribus utar verbis quam natura fert, aut levioribus quam causa postulat.* The examination with your lordships will show you what it is. I need not name it.'

"The final reference to Buckingham had extraordinary force and vividness, and a letter-writer describes the 'emotion' excited by it in the lords. The whole of these concluding passages are indeed grandly sustained; and very striking at the last is the effect produced by the quiet reference to himself, with its sober contrast to all that implacable bitterness and supreme disdain.

"'In all these now your lordships have the idea of the man; what in himself he is, and what in his affections.

Digitized by Google

You have seen his power, *and some I fear have felt it.* You have known his practice, you have heard the effects. It rests then to be considered, being such, what he is in relation to the king, what in relation to the State, and how compatible or incompatible with either. What he is to the king, you have heard; a canker in his treasures, and one that restlessly consumes and will devour him. What he is to the State, you have seen; a moth to goodness, not only persisting in all ill ways but preventing better. His affections are apparent not to be the best, and his actions prove it. What hopes or expectation, then, he gives, I leave it to your lordships. I will now only see, by comparison with others, where I may find him paralleled or likened; and, so considering what may now become him, from thence render your lordships to a short conclusion.

"'Of all the precedents I can find, none so near resembles him as doth Sejanus, and him Tacitus describes thus: that he was *audax; sui obtegens, in alios criminator; juxta adulatio et superbia.* If your lordships please to measure him by this, pray see in what they vary. He is bold. We had that experience lately: and of such a boldness, I dare be bold to say, as is seldom heard of. He is secret in his purposes, and more; *that* we have showed already. Is he a slanderer? is he an accuser? I wish this parliament had not felt it, nor that which was before. And for his pride and flattery, what man can judge the greater? Thus far, I think, the parallel holds. But now, I beseech your lordships, look a little further. Of Sejanus it is likewise noted, amongst his policies, amongst his arts, that to sup-

Digitized by Google

port himself he did *clientes suos honoribus aut provinciis ornare.* He preferred his friends, he preferred his clients, to second, to assist him: and does not this man do the like? Is it not, and in the same terms, a special cause in our complaint now? Does not this kingdom, does not Scotland, does not Ireland speak it? I will observe but one thing more, and end. It is a note upon the pride of Sejanus, upon his high ambition, which your lordships will find set down by Tacitus. His solecisms, his neglect of counsels, his veneries, his venefices,[1] these I will not mention here: only that particular of his pride, which thus I find. In his public passages and relations he would so mix his business with the prince's, seeming to confound their actions, that he was often styled *laborum imperatoris socius:* and does not this man do the like? Is it not in his whole practice? How often, how lately have we heard it! Did he not, in this same place, in this very parliament, under color of an explanation for the king, before the committees of both houses, do the same? Have not your lordships heard him also ever mixing and confusing the king and the State, not leaving a distinction between them? It is too-too manifest.

"'My lords, I have done. YOU SEE THE MAN! What have been his actions, whom he is like, YOU KNOW. I leave him to your judgments. This only is conceived by

[1] "Such expressions could not of course have been directly applied to Buckingham. They are insinuated only through Sejanus. In the report in the 'Journals' this point is missed, and the effect wholly lost. But so it is throughout."

Digitized by Google

us, the knights, citizens, and burgesses of the commons house of parliament, that by him came all our evils, in him we find the causes, and on him must be the remedies. To this end we are now addressed to your lordships in confidence of your justice, to which some late examples[1] and your wisdoms invite us. We cannot doubt your lordships. The greatness, the power, the practice of the whole world, we know to be all inferior to your greater judgments; and from thence we take assurance. To that, therefore, we now refer him; there to be examined, there to be tried; and in due time from thence we shall expect such judgment as his cause merits.

"'And now, my lords, I will conclude with a particular censure given on the Bishop of Ely in the time of Richard I. That prelate had the king's treasures at his command, and had luxuriously abused them. His obscure kindred were married to earls, barons, and others of great rank and place. No man's business could be done without his help. He would not suffer the king's counsel to advise in the highest affairs of state. He gave *ignotis personis et obscuris* the custody of castles and great trusts. He ascended to such a height of insolence and pride that he ceased to be fit for characters of mercy. And therefore, says the record of which I now hold the original, "*per totam insulam publicè proclametur*; PEREAT QUI PERDERE CUNCTA FESTINAT. OPPRIMATUR NE OMNES OPPRIMAT."

"'And now, my lords, I am ready to read unto your

[1] "The allusion is to the impeachments of Bacon and Middlesex."

Digitized by Google

lordships the conclusion of this charge, and so to present it to you:

"'"And the said commons, by protestation saving to themselves the liberty of exhibiting at any time hereafter any other accusations or impeachment against the said duke: and also of replying unto the answer that the said duke shall make unto the said articles or to any of them, and of offering further proofs also of the premises or any of them as the case shall require, according to the course of parliament: do pray that the said duke may be put to answer to all and every the said premises, and that such proceeding, examination, trial, and judgment may be upon every of them had and used as is agreeable to law and justice."'

"'And having discharged this trust, my lords, imposed upon me, unworthy of that honor; and having therein, in the imperfections which naturally I suffer, made myself too open to your lordships' censure; I must now crave your pardons and become a petitioner for myself, that those weaknesses which have appeared in my delivery may, through your noble favours, find excuse. For which, as that gentleman my colleague who first made his apology by color of command, mine, my lords, is likewise spoken in my obedience. I was commanded, and I have obeyed. Wherein let me desire your lordships, that, notwithstanding the errors of which I may be guilty, nothing may reflect upon my masters; or be from thence admitted into your lordships' judgments to diminish or impeach the reputation of their wisdoms. These, I hope, shall give your lordships and the world such ample testimonies as may approve them

Digitized by Google

still to be deserving in the ancient merits of their fathers. This for them I crave; and for myself I humbly submit in confidence of your favours.'[1]

"Upon Eliot resuming his seat, the conference broke up; and on the following Saturday and Monday, the 13th and 15th of May, eight peers reported the speeches to the upper house, and the articles of impeachment were laid on the table of the lords. Startling events had occurred in the interval."[2]

The sequel to this must be similarly reproduced, thus:—

"Eliot's speech was delivered on Wednesday, and on Thursday morning Sir Nathaniel Rich went to the upper house with a message for the duke's commitment. Upon this the duke addressed the lords. Now that the commons had shot their bolt against him, he rejoiced to be delivered out of their hands into those of their lordships. He protested his innocency, but he would not there say anything else to cast dirt at those who had taken pains to make him so foul. He desired only that his trial might be hastened. He spoke, says one who was present, with the confidence inspired by what already, earlier that morning, had transpired in the house of lords.

"The king had been there 'very early in the morning,' and had spoken to the peers from the throne in a few sentences written for him by Laud. By the speech of

[1] "From Eliot's MS. at Port Eliot, indorsed by him: 'Keepe this safe where it may not be lost.'"

[2] Vol. i. pp. 541-552.

Digitized by Google

Eliot he had been extraordinarily moved. When the reference to Sejanus was reported to him, 'implicitly,' he exclaimed, he must intend me for 'Tiberius!'[1] and hurried to the lords. As he spoke, Buckingham stood by his side. Imputations had been cast upon his honour, he said, and he appealed to them for vindication. He had thought fit to take order for the punishment of some insolent speeches spoken to them yesterday.[2] It behoved themselves to preserve the honour of the nobility against the vile and malicious calumnies of members of the house of commons.[3] As to the duke's innocency of all the charges brought against him, he could himself be a witness to clear him in every one.—The indecency of such an attempt, so shameless in the sovereign, to override an accusation brought in the name of all the members of one of the houses of the legislature, met with its rebuke in a sullen silence. No mani-

[1] "Harleian MSS. 383. Mede to Stuteville, 11th May, 1626. 'I cannot hold,' says the gossiping Mede, before telling what he had heard about the king: 'this great Thursday makes me add this private news which I desire you to keep to yourself as your own, by separating this half-sheet, and burning it or concealing, &c.' The writer afterwards tells his correspondent that, being with Sir Robert Cotton that morning, the latter had told him that the king's affection towards the duke 'was very admirable—no whit lessened.' By admirable he meant *wonderful*."

[2] "Here the king unconsciously betrayed that not 'speeches' were in his mind, but one speech only; that of Eliot spoken 'yesterday.' *See* 'Parl. Hist.' vii. 39."

[3] "*See* Laud's 'Diary,' May 11, 1626. Laud elsewhere confesses ('Troubles and Trial,' chap. xlii.) that he had, upon the summons of the king, suddenly prepared the speech for him."

Digitized by Google

festation of any kind was made while he spoke or when he ceased. He returned in his barge to Whitehall, while Digges and Eliot were on their way to the Tower.

"They were sitting that morning in their places in the house, when, as upon some ordinary business, they were called to the door;[1] a warrant was shown them by two king's messengers; and they were taken to the Tower. So suddenly had it been done, that not until Rich's return after delivering the message for the duke's impeachment was the fact made known. The house at once broke out into violent agitation. Men before now had been made accountable for what they had spoken as representatives of the people, and had been corrected and punished for words spoken in parliament; but never while parliament still sat; never until a dissolution had intervened, and the privilege of the house was supposed no longer to invest them. The

[1] "The MS. at Port Eliot says: 'Being disputing concerning the manner of questioning the recusants, Sir D. D. and Sir John Elliott went out of the house. We know not where lies the reason. There was one at the door sent for them to come out, and when they came out there was an officer with a warrant from his majesty to carry them both to the Tower. And thither they went: and there they are. The occasion we know not. After it was known in the house they presently would not go forward with any other business, but cried out to *Rise! Rise!* So they arose. Neither in the afternoon would any committees sit.' A letter of the 13th of May (from Birch's transcripts in the Sloane MSS.) tells us: 'About the time his majesty had ended his speech, Sir Dudley Digges and Sir John Eliot were sent for out of the house. Upon Sir Nath. Rich's return from the lords it was perceived in the lower house whither Sir John Eliot and Sir Dudley Digges were gone: whereupon they broke off all business.'"

Digitized by Google

first of those open and undisguised outrages which brought their author to the scaffold was *this*. 'Mr. Pym stood up,' says Mede in a letter to Stuteville, 'and began to insinuate an exhortation to patience and wisdom.' But there was no patience then for even so honoured and experienced a counsellor. 'Rise! Rise! Rise!' was the shout on all sides, and the only concession he could obtain. They would give the enemy no advantage by hasty and ill-considered anger; and postponing all the business before them, they rose until the following day. All that afternoon, says the letter just quoted,[1] they formed into groups in Westminster-hall, 'sadly communicating their minds to one another.'

"The following morning, Friday the 12th, they reassembled; but upon the Speaker offering to proceed to the business of the day, 'Sit down! Sit down!' was the almost universal cry; 'no business till we are righted in our liberties!' 'The house was very full,' says the Port Eliot manuscript, 'and sate very silent long. Not one man spake. At last a lawyer, one Mr. Wyell,[2] began to express the occasion of our silence. The loss of our friends was grievous: but more grievous that the members of a body should be rent and torn from the body to which they belonged. It was as a mother who should have her child taken violently from her. He compared that to our cause, and that it was against privileges and the great charter. Then many spake: one after another: that we

[1] "Harl. MSS. 383. 12th May, 1626."

[2] "Evidently Wilde, the member for Droitwich."

Digitized by Google

could do no business before these men were out of prison in our house. So what will come of us we know not.' Amid that uncertainty, the new vice-chamberlain presented himself. Sir Dudley Carleton, lately returned from his embassies at Venice and the Hague, had come down to the house expressly to set matters straight; and hoping they would follow Mr. Pym's advice yesterday, and do nothing tumultuously, at last he prevailed upon them to hear him. It turned out, however, that he was not at that time prepared with much to say as to the provocation given for the commitments, except that much offence had been taken by the Duke of Buckingham, and in his opinion justly, at Sir John Eliot's calling him 'this man,' 'the man,' and so forth, which appeared to Sir Dudley in a high degree contemptuous and unbecoming. But upon the conduct generally of that house to their sovereign, the vice-chamberlain delivered his mind very frankly; disclosed more of the secrets of the court than he had probably been instructed to reveal; and not a little astonished the English commons. 'I beseech you, gentlemen,' he said, 'move not his majesty with trenching upon his prerogatives, lest you bring him out of love with parliaments. In his messages he hath told you, that if there were not correspondency between him and you, he should be enforced to use *new counsels*. Now, I pray you to consider what these new counsels are, and may be. I fear to declare those that I conceive. In all christian kingdoms you know that parliaments were in use anciently, until the monarchs began to know their own strength; and, seeing the turbulent spirit of their

Digitized by Google

parliaments, at length they, by little and little, began to stand upon their prerogatives, *and at last overthrew the parliaments throughout christendom, except here only with us.* And indeed you would count it a great misery, if you knew the subjects in foreign countries as well as myself; to see them look not like our nation, with store of flesh on their backs, but like so many ghosts and not men, being nothing but skin and bones with some thin cover to their nakedness, and wearing only wooden shoes on their feet; so that they cannot eat meat, or wear good clothes, but they must pay and be taxed unto the king for it. This is a misery beyond expression, and that which YET *we are free from!'*

"The travelled and experienced Sir Dudley had scarcely thus delivered himself, when his ears were saluted with loud and unaccustomed shouts of 'To the bar! To the bar!' and he very narrowly escaped the necessity of apologizing at the bar on his knees. But the revelation he had made was long remembered; and when men had ceased to laugh at the skin and bones, and the wooden shoes, they called to mind that England was indeed the only one of three great kingdoms which had not yielded to the sword; that, as Philips so nobly had reminded them in the Oxford parliament, England was the last monarchy which yet retained her liberties; and that it behoved them, for better reasons than any under the cap of the vice-chamberlain, to take timely warning by the examples of France and Spain.

"One of Eliot's notes has preserved for us what fol-

Digitized by Google

lowed at this sitting. The house had turned itself into grand committee, and Henry Rolle was in the chair. Sir John Savile, who had shown strong tendencies to the court since Sir Thomas Wentworth took up with the opposition, endeavoured to quiet the excitement by describing his own commitment for three weeks in Elizabeth's time, the house still sitting, and himself not informed of the cause; yet, on its being moved in the house, they would not resolve it to be a breach of their privilege, but simply directed that the queen be made acquainted that he was a member, whereupon she ordered his discharge. To which Sir Thomas Hobby replied that he also remembered having sat in that parliament, and that Sir John's case, being one in which his offence did not appear to have been given as a member, was wholly different from the present, wherein that was not only so, but the two members had been sent to prison out of the very house itself; an act wholly without precedent. The result was, that on the motion of Noye, it was resolved not only that no business shall be done till their members were discharged, but that there should be remonstrance made to the king on that breach of privilege, and 'to show him whom we conceave to be the cause of this.'[1]

"Sir Dudley Digges was liberated next day. He had been included in the arrest because of a report of his having said, alluding to the imputation of the thirteenth article as to the drink and plaister given by the duke to the king's

[1] "'Eliot's Notes,' N. 5, fol. 18, a, b."

Digitized by Google

father, 'that he did forbear to speak further, in regard to the king's honour.' But the words were denied by Digges himself; and though the duke still tried to fix them upon him, and rose nine times at the one morning's sitting to endeavour to convince his brother peers,[1] Sir Dudley's own denial was confirmed by thirty-six lords present at the conference, and his arrest was of necessity remitted. Only one, Lord Holland, could be found to say that he had heard anything like the words; and he was too notoriously the duke's creature to obtain any show of credence.[2] The truth became indeed plain, that Buckingham had seized on one of Digges's expressions employed in a quite different sense, in the belief that it might be used to make Eliot responsible for darker and more criminal imputations than were intended by the allusion to Sejanus.

"Against Eliot the blow was really aimed, and upon him it was intended to have fallen heavily. It was the beginning of the cruel persecutions he had foreseen and prepared himself for when he decided finally on his present

[1] "See Archbishop Abbot's narrative in 'Rushworth,' i. 450."

[2] "In 'Eliot's Notes' (N. 5, fol. 18, b) there is an account of what passed in the commons house on Saturday the 13th, immediately before Digges's release, from which it appears that Littleton, Sir Nathaniel Rich, Sir Francis Stewart, and Pym strongly denied the alleged expressions; whereas, according to Carleton, 'not one but four or five members not only affirmed it before, but yesterday again, and the king last night at supper told him the words were so.' Ultimately the house fixed the charge of false representation on Sir Thomas Jermyn, the member for St. Edmunds. Sir Thomas afterwards admitted (N. 6, fol. 28, a), that he had been mistaken."

Digitized by Google

course; and which were only exhausted at last by the death of their victim. The character of the imprisonment to which he was immediately consigned may be judged from the circumstance that the cell into which he was thrown in the Tower was that which in little more than two years received the man who murdered Buckingham.[1] It will shortly be seen also that the design was, if possible, to have made him responsible for offences of wider scope than any contained in his speech at the conference.

"On Tuesday the 16th of May, Sir Dudley Digges resumed his seat in the house, which at once, upon his entrance, 'turned themselves into a grand committee concerning Sir John Eliot.' The chancellor of the exchequer then rose and earnestly counselled moderation in their proceedings. That the king was very careful of entering upon their privileges, he had given good testimony by his proceedings with the member who then reappeared among them; but the business of Sir John Eliot was of another nature. The way he had discharged the bidding of the house had indeed been wholly displeasing to his majesty; but apart from this, the king charged him with things extrajudicial to that house. It would be well therefore that they should go on with their business, and leave a case of that kind to be dealt with by his majesty. Being asked what he meant by 'extrajudicial,' Weston replied that it was the king's word, and that without the king's leave he could not explain it. We will adjourn, then, until you have

[1] "Letter in the Harleian MSS., 390."

Digitized by Google

leave, was the rejoinder; because this is the only business we can possibly go on with. And, after a vote clearing by name their six managers at the conference from having in any particular exceeded their commission, the house adjourned accordingly.

"Next day, the 17th, the explanation was given, and one of Eliot's notes enables me to describe what passed. Sir Richard Weston began by stating that he had leave to explain the word extrajudicial, which was that his majesty had committed Sir John Eliot for high crimes against his majesty done out of that house. A perfect silence followed this remark by the chancellor. No one spoke; there seemed an indisposition to speak; whereupon Sir Dudley Carleton offered a suggestion that as no more question was made of Sir John Eliot by his majesty for anything done in quality of a member, probably their best course might be to clear him by a vote in all he had done by their bidding at the conference, and for the rest to petition the king for his release. At this the silence suddenly broke. There was an indignant shout of dissent; and the vice-chamberlain, whom there had been scant disposition to listen to ever since the wooden shoes sally, had now to explain for himself. He protested he meant no offence. In Elizabeth's reign there were three members, Sir Anthony Coke, Sir Henry Bromely, and Sir John Savile, taken out of that house *sedente curia*, at the time when he was himself a member. And there were three similar cases in the 25th of Elizabeth; those of Mr. Morice, attorney of the court of wards, Sir Edward Hobby, and Mr. Beale; all of whom

Digitized by Google

were taken and sent to the Tower, yet the house notwithstanding proceeded with business, not even petitioning for their deliverance. With this he sat down; and against a very general desire rather strongly expressed by the house, which appeared to think the vice-chamberlain not entitled to answer on the point, Sir Thomas Hobby persisted in replying to him. He also had a seat in that parliament of Elizabeth, and recollected the cases referred to; but not one of the persons named had been committed for any offence in parliament. It was true that the house had not petitioned in the cases, for it was no wisdom to desire what they knew beforehand there was ground or good reason for denying. Let the charge against Sir John Eliot be distinctly stated, and it would then be seen if the alleged offence were so far beyond their cognizance that they might properly interfere at all. A man might be taken out of that house *sedente parliamento*, as Doctor Parry was, to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. Some laughter following upon this mention of Parry's case, and no one seeming disposed to prolong the debate, the vice-chamberlain rose again, and hoped the house would at least suspend any further resolution till his majesty had opportunity to prove the accusation made. It was not what had happened at the conference, but 'something else which might be discovered by the sight of Sir John Eliot's papers, or some other means.' Disregarding this intimation, it was ordered that the sub-committee then drawing up the remonstrance should 'take therein what concerns Sir John Eliot and add it to the rest;' and once more the resolution was directed

Digitized by Google

to be read from the chair, that they would pass to no other business until righted in their liberties.[1]

"That was on the 17th of May. Meanwhile time had not been lost in attempted dealings with the prisoner in the Tower. But such denials or explanations as Digges had made, supposing such to be obtainable, were not sought from him. Far beyond the narrow compass within which the questioning of Digges had lain were the matters on which it had been resolved to bring Eliot to the question. The hope desperately seized at was to trump up some charge of treason. Besides his private papers, at which the vice-chamberlain had hinted, all things said by him since parliament met, and especially the speech of the two famous precedents, were to be revived and raked into for matter against him; and on the 18th he was examined, upon queries drawn up by the lord keeper, in the Tower. The draft in Coventry's handwriting of 'Lord Keeper's questions to be propounded to Sir John Elliott' remains in the State paper office under that date, side by side with the result of the examination that followed on the same day 'before Sir Randall Crewe k^nt, lord chief justice for pleas to be holden before his majestie, and Sir Robert Heath k^nt, his majestie's attorney generall;' the latter bearing the signatures of Crewe, Heath, and Eliot.[2]

"He was asked whether he had at any time held conference with any one, and when, and with whom, upon the point of how far any kings have heretofore been com-

[1] "'Eliot's Notes,' N. 5, fol. 19, b, 20, a."

[2] "MS. S. P. O. Dom. Cor. xxvii. 17 and 18."

Digitized by Google

pelled to give way to the will of their people? He replied that he never, with any, had held such conference, either as to that or of anything touching the subject, or any circumstantial thing tending to that end.

"He was asked whether he had held conference with any, and when, and with whom, touching the depriving of kings either of this realm or of any other kingdom; or whether he had seen, or been showed, and by whom, any precedent of any former time in that kind, or tending to any such purpose? He replied that he had never held conference to any such purpose with anyone, nor had ever seen or been showed any such precedent otherwise than had occurred to him in the general reading of history; that he had never of purpose read any such thing, nor had ever been showed any precedent to any end tending to a discourse on that subject; and that, whensoever he had lighted upon any such in his reading, he had detested it as being contrary both to human and divine laws.

"He was asked who delivered to him the precedent of the commission in the time of Richard the Second which was gotten by constraint from that king? He answered that he had had notes of a commission of that time, *but not gotten by constraint*, as he considered; he must have had them, as he thought, a dozen years at least, and could not then call to mind of whom, or by what means he had them, or whether he had copied the original record in his search for parliament business; but though he had not seen that commission, nor any copy of it, certainly for these ten years, he had seen the book or treatise which passes

Digitized by Google

from hand to hand under the name of Sir Walter Raleigh, by way of 'A Dialogue between a Councillor and a Justice of Peace,'[1] and in that treatise there was some passage of the commission, out of which, among other things, he had of late taken some notes for his memory upon the reading of it; otherwise, however, than by those former notes, and these later notes taken in this manner, he had not had any occasion to remember or be put in mind of that commission, nor had had the precedent of the commission from any person whatsoever otherwise than as he had before expressed: the certainty whereof he could not more precisely set down, having had the first notes thereof so many years agone.

"He was further and again asked whether the same person who showed him that commission when he first saw it, or any other person, and who, did deliver him any precedent or treatise touching the deposing of kings? He replied that no person, as before he stated, had shown him such commission; and that no person ever delivered to

[1] "The treatise is well known, and there seems reason to believe that Raleigh was really its author. A manuscript copy of it, transcribed in 58 folios, is among the papers at Port Eliot, with passages marked by Sir John. During the excitements of 1628 it came forth as 'printed at Midelburge,' with the title 'The Prerogative of Parliaments in England: proved in a Dialogue (pro et contra) betweene a Councellour of State, and a Justice of Peace. Written by the worthy (much lacked and lamented) Sir Walter Raleigh, knight, deceased. Dedicated to the king's majestie, and to the houses of parliament now assembled. Preserved to be now happily (in these distracted times) published.'"

Digitized by Google

him, or showed to him, or read to him, any such precedent or treatise.

"He was asked what conference or speech he had had with the deputies of Rochelle, or any of them, and when and whether he persuaded or pressed them to do anything which they refused or were unwilling to do, and what the same was? He replied that he had never had conference or speech with the deputies of Rochelle; with any from them, or with any of them; nor did he know that he had ever seen the face of any of those agents.

"He was asked whether he were not in Gray's-inn on the Sunday, or near thereabouts, before he spake in parliament of the commission before-mentioned; and with what company he then and there was, and what conference passed between them? He replied that he was not, nor had been in any part of Gray's-inn these seven years.

"He was asked what conference or correspondence, by letters, messages, or otherwise, directly or indirectly, he had had with any foreign ambassador or agent? He replied that he had not had any conference or correspondence, by letters, messages, or otherwise, directly or indirectly; and he was well assured that he had not written any letter to any foreign ambassador or agent whatsoever, nor had received any letter from any; and the last message he had from any foreign ambassador, or agent, was about three years agone, when he was a prisoner in the Marshalsea, about prize goods taken in the west, and Philip Barnardo came to him about it.

"The object of the questions is manifest; and probably

Digitized by Google

no one more than the honest chief justice rejoiced at the simplicity yet sufficiency of answers which left everything precisely where it was. Some hope there had evidently been to involve one of the Gray's-inn lawyers in complicity with Eliot; and some light is thrown upon the question as to French ambassadors and agents by that declaration of Carleton's to the commons already quoted, upon his final and strenuous opposition in the matter of the St. Peter of Newhaven, 'doubting the ambassadors of France had practised to incense this house to the French's benefit and the loss of the English.'[1] But all other clues to the track on which the lord keeper had drawn the attorney-general in a quest from which Eliot so quietly turned them all aside, it would now be vain to seek. Suffice it that nothing had been gained from him by this unprovoked and lawless invasion of his liberty; not even an admission of the insufficiency of his precedent of Richard the Second, or of the alleged constraint practised on that king!

"There was nothing for it, then, in presence of the pressure from the commons, but to sign the warrant for Eliot's liberation. Without a dissolution, Charles had no alternative; and it was important to him, before such violence was committed, as well that another effort should be made for supply, as that time should be given for some answer to the charges against Buckingham, now committed

[1] "I infer this from 'Eliot's Notes,' N. 6, fol. 25, a; where the words are underlined, and an index hand is scratched in the margin more especially to mark them out, doubtless by Eliot himself."

Digitized by Google

to the hands of Laud and Sir Nicholas Hyde. Not only had the commons resolutely refused to proceed with anything until Eliot should be released, but they had already voted, and were now preparing, a remonstrance against such violation of their privilege. On the 18th of May the brave Bevil Grenvile (who died afterwards fighting for the king at Lansdowne), writing to his 'best friend the lady Grace' of the christening they were shortly to expect, told her of his 'hope that Sir John Eliot shall be there too if it be a boy, though the king hath lately sent him to the Tower for some wordes spoken in parliament, but wee are all resolv'd to have him out againe, or will proceede in noe businesse.'[1] That was the very day when Eliot was under question in the Tower, and its result had sufficed to break down the resolution of the king and duke before his more indomitable resolution. On the 20th of May Grenvile wrote: 'We have Sir John Eliot at liberty againe! The house was never quiett till the king releas'd him.' On the 19th the order of release had been signed.

"On Saturday the 20th of May, when, amid congratulations that partook more of sternness and solemnity than of gladness or joy, the commons were to see Eliot reappear among them, the vice-chamberlain, by express command of the king, was to make his last appearance there: his majesty having already given direction for a patent of peerage promptly to remove him to a place more congenial with his foreign experiences. The scene that ensued was

[1] "MS. letter in my possession."

Digitized by Google

full of character and interest, and from the notes of Eliot himself it is now presented much more vividly than heretofore.[1]

"Upon the Speaker taking his chair, Mr. Glanvile said he had it from Sir John Eliot, who waited outside, to desire their pleasure whether he was to come and again sit, having been accused of high crimes and extrajudicial to that house. To this there was an eager 'yea' shouted from all sides: whereupon he entered, and having taken his place, rose directly afterwards, and requested to hear what was charged against him, that he might show by his answer whether he were indeed worthy to sit there. To this Sir Dudley Carleton replied. He was not there to charge him, but to give him occasion to discharge himself. All the other seven members engaged in the late business had used respective terms to the duke, but the manner of Sir John Eliot's speech had been 'too tart and harsh' to his grace's person. It was not within his duty to have characterized the duke's mind by the 'strange beast' *stellionatus*. It was contrary to the mind of the house to have professed ignorance of the return of the ships out of France. 'They say they are come, but I know it not.' It was a great indignity to persons of honour, and held base in all languages, to say 'this man' and 'that man' of such a person as the duke. The historical comparisons to Sejanus and the Bishop of Ely were also unwarrantable. And finally, which was the main offence, he cut off the words of the last article in the accusation against the duke

[1] "'Eliot's Notes,' N. 6, fols. 29, a, b, and 30, a."

Digitized by Google

with an expression from Cicero, as if something were in the charge covered which might be *dis*covered. In brief, that was what Sir Dudley Carleton, on behalf of his majesty, had to say.

"Eliot then spoke. Yesterday morning, at half-past eleven, he first heard of the intention to release him, and now he was first made acquainted with his offence. He thanked the vice-chamberlain for his plain dealing, in at length affording him occasion to clear himself. Was it now the pleasure of the house that he should answer generally, or, for their clearer satisfaction, make a particular answer upon each particular charge? The latter by all means, was the reply; to which end each charge successively should be repeated by Mr. Vice-chamberlain, and if anyone else had additions to make, let the occasion now be taken. But no one save Sir Dudley spoke; and as he merely again went over, in separate parts, his original accusation, it will suffice to give Eliot's answers.

"For the *stellionatus*, then. That as to the duke's honours and offices, he styled them ambition; but as to his deceit and fraud, because no word could reach it, he borrowed that of *stellionatus* from the civilians, who in the body of their law have a whole chapter for it. If Mr. Vice-chamberlain consulted those authorities, he would probably be able to satisfy himself that it was only ignorance made the strangeness of that word.[1]

[1] "It is needless of course to say that the word is from *stellio*, a spotted lizard, the fraudulent man being comparable to that animal alone in versatility and craft; and that the term *stellionate* in the

Digitized by Google

"For his saying he knew it not, upon the return of the ships, he confessed that he had said he did not know, though he heard, they were returned. It was indeed true he heard it in the house, but neither then knew it as true of any, nor yet knows it as true of the flat-bottom boats, and divers others of which the like was said.

"For the words 'the man.' He had not spoken on that occasion by the book, but suddenly. He had frequently used the duke's titles, but sometimes for brevity he might have shortened them. He was surprised to hear that called strange which was used in all languages: *ipse*, *ille*, and the like, being given both to Alexander and Cæsar, 'which were not less than he.' And therefore he thought it not a dishonour unto him so to be called a man, 'whom yet he thinketh not to be a god.'

"For Sejanus and the Bishop of Ely. He claimed the right to make such parallels. In the sense wherein the former had been misapplied, he used it not. If so applied he could not hinder the construction, but was not to be forced beyond his meaning. He made no parallel of times, or other persons but the duke.

"For the words of Cicero upon the potion and the plaister. 'He relateth the words, and, as he thinketh, the syllables, which he insists upon and avows.' Upon that he had no more to say.

"For the manner of his speech. And here, as of a matter affecting himself more exclusively, he spoke with

Roman law comprehends all kinds of knavery not designated by any more special name."

Digitized by Google

a modest and manly frankness. It was, he said, an old charge against him, that the manner of his speech was with too much vigour and strength. He would not attempt to justify his defects in nature; but he hoped they should not be imputed as a crime. He yet on that occasion did, and does in that house, desire to avoid passion, being only affected to discharge his duty to the house with the best life he could. 'Especially in this particular, because the duke had intimated to the lords that many of his followers were disheartened.'

"For the exceeding his commission. Did anyone of the commons, from which he received it, say that he had done so? The negative upon the instant was so loud and general, that the few words with which he resumed his seat, to the effect that when any particular should be mentioned he would give answer to it, were scarcely audible. The next moment he had withdrawn, 'the house refusing to order his withdrawal.' And not a single dissentient ventured to declare himself against the vote which was immediately taken, to clear Eliot from every imputation, and to declare that he had in no respect exceeded the commission entrusted to him.'[1]

[1] "One other characteristic mention the affair received, when, on Thursday the 1st of June, Eliot himself made a motion in the house ('Journals,' i. 867) that Mr. Meautys, the member for Cambridge, and some others might be 'appointed to see the opening of his papers, which at the time of his arrest were taken by Mr. Meautys, and had now been by him sent back under seal: *to see whether they be all there.*' Order was accordingly given that Mr. Meautys, Sir William Spencer, Sir Thomas Hobby, and Sir William Armyne,

Digitized by Google

"So closed this affair on the king's part, as ignominiously ended as it was ill begun; a clumsy retreat from a position which there was neither the boldness to attempt to maintain, nor the good sense handsomely to abandon. Even the people about the court could to some extent moralize the matter. They saw that the commons, apart from what they gained in it by Eliot's dauntless composure and sarcastically quiet reassertion of everything he had been called to explain, had affirmed by its means that right in their own house to protect themselves from every questioning but their own, which more than anything else united and strengthened them in future parliaments; while the king had gained nothing by it, and had lost the reputation of much. But beyond this the incident imparted no lesson. They believed, according to Heylin, who expresses doubtless the mortification of Laud, that his majesty had 'power in his hands to have righted himself according to the practise of queen Elizabeth and others of his majesty's royal predecessors in the times foregoing,' if he had been bold enough to follow their example instead of the example

should assemble for the purpose in Sir John Eliot's chamber at five o'clock that afternoon. What the result was is not said, but it is very certain that all Eliot's papers had not found their way back to him; some that were seized at the time remaining now in the State paper office, and copies or abstracts of others having been quoted *ante* (469-72). In fact, one of the charges in the original draft of the remonstrance at this time preparing, 'Refusal by Meautys of a note to be taken of Sir J. Eliot's papers' ('Eliot's Notes,' N. 5, 22, a), shows that means had been taken to render it impossible with any exactness to see at their return 'whether they be all there.'"

Digitized by Google

of his father.[1] On the other hand, Eliot's notes have shown us that the precedents most vaunted from Elizabeth were not only now relied upon, but relied upon by men who had sat in her parliaments; making no secret of her mistakes, but showing her prompt redress of them. That is what *her* example should have taught a court which unhappily was incapable of learning anything. She understood, if ever a ruler did, the art in which the highest government consists, of so conforming to the veracities and necessities around it, as to make itself really the expression of the people governed, in their changing condition, in their new and impatient wants, in their increasing intelligence. But Charles the First had no one to tell him this, nor probably would have listened if there had been. The people around him could only see that he was not as brave as the great queen, and lament that he should rather have taken example by his father. But it would have been well for him if he had done even this. He suffered for want of his father's cowardice quite as much as for want of Elizabeth's courage. His was one of those natures, not uncommon, which having no real self-reliance have yet a most intense self-reference, and make up ever for yielding

[1] "Heylin's 'Life of Laud,' 142-3. The commons 'had now put themselves,' continues Heylin, 'upon this resolution, not to suffer any one of their members to be questioned till themselves had considered of his crimes. By which means they kept themselves close together, and emboldened one another to stand it out against the king to the very last.' On the other hand, says Peter with much truth, the gains and gettings of the king from the line he took, might have been 'put in a seamstress's thimble and yet never fill it.'"

Digitized by Google

in some point by obstinacy in some other; and it was his misery always to resist, as he yielded, too late. After giving up everything that had sustained the prerogative while it had yet any work in the world to do, he believed in it to the last as the only thing that could help him; and he was not the less ready to seize Pym and Hampden in 1641 because of his defeat and discomfiture in the attempt to seize Eliot in 1626."[1]

The story of "The Remonstrance" of 1625-6, that followed all this is second only to "The Grand Remonstrance" of 1641, as the "arrest" of Sir John Eliot compares with "The Arrest of the Five Members" of 1641-2.

Book VIII. of the "Biography" is entitled "Government by Prerogative." It thus opens:—"The wrath of the king and his ministers at the course taken by Eliot in the second parliament exceeded all limit, and his ruin, at whatever hazard, was resolved upon." Again: "With this view a series of proceedings now began, unexampled in the personal animosity that directed and guided them, in the inveteracy and rancour with which they were pursued, and in the artifices to which they descended. Those shameless artifices were not practised by the suborned or subordinate agents only. THE KING AND BUCKINGHAM WERE AS EAGER AS THE DRAKES AND BAGG. . . . . all modes of retaliation and revenge were to be accounted justifiable" (ii. pp. 2, 3). On the actions which gave form to this double-distilled vengefulness, full details are

[1] Vol. i. pp. 552-570.

Digitized by Google

given by Forster. I do not care to go back on them. The knife of Felton and the decollated head of the king move me to silence, so consummate is the retribution for it and all, in either case. None the less was it due to truth to write inexorably of "The Conspirators and their Victim" (ii. pp. 31-46), of invasion of Eliot's "liberty," and of "The General Forced Loan" (ii. pp. 46-64), or the "more fatal conspiracy against the liberty of England."

Eliot was once more "in prison." He had been "lodged in the Gate-house in June." Brought before the council-table, and refusing to make other reply than already he had made in his county, he was remitted to that prison, "and remained there during all the months of the disaster at Rhé, and of the closing efforts of Bagg and his confederates in the west to effect his personal ruin." The flower of England were in like manner in restraint. One to-day reads the lustrous bead-roll of these State prisoners with reverence. Fiery tears blind one's eyes in reading "The Humble Petition of Sir John Eliot, Knt. Prisoner in the Gatehouse, concerning the Loan" (ii. pp. 87-92). That got "into print," and went to the nation's heart.

The third parliament of Charles I. ("by constraint, not willingly") had for election-cry "the Loan." Expressive of the dominating influence of Sir John Eliot is one simple fact—viz., that governmental defeats, and disasters, and collapse would have been held as compensated "were it but possible to exclude" him. It was impossible. The "opening of the session" (March to June, 1628) found Eliot free; for "four days before the king went down to

Digitized by Google

open the session some leaders of the Commons met at Sir Robert Cotton's house," and he was one of them, in association with Sir Thomas Wentworth, Mr. Denzil Holles, Sir Robert Philips, Mr. Pym, Mr. Edward Kyrton, Mr. Selden, and Sir Edward Coke. He took his usual full part in the debates. The "Resolutions for Liberty of the Subject" and the "Petition of Right" bear the impress of his intellect and conscience; while in the "Conflict of the Houses" and the turmoils without, he was a guiding spirit. If, in standing up for Law and "the Constitution," he had to stand up against the King, it was a sad necessity of that King's own making. The "Recess" was darkened by the death of Lady Eliot. Very soft and sweet and tender are his words on his "losse never before equalled"; wise and loving his letters to his motherless children. The assassination on 23rd August, at Portsmouth, was the tremendous answer to the Law's delay. Buckingham fell. It was a crime, but a retribution as well.

The "prorogued" House was "Re-assembled." On the first day "late events" and decisions were brought up. Eliot was the spokesman. The "Biography" lets us see and hear, as thus:—

"It had not been usual to engage in any important debate on the first day of a session. But not unacquainted probably with the drift of the instructions given to the privy councillors who had seats,[1] the leaders of the commons had resolved that not a day should pass before de-

[1] "I have already quoted Whitelocke as to this: a more detailed account will be found in 'Rushworth,' i. 642-3."

Digitized by Google

claring their opinions on late events, and the course proposed to be taken. Even at that earliest time of meeting, when the ministers would necessarily be present but there was little likelihood to be otherwise a full attendance, it appears to have been arranged that, when the motion for revival of the committees of privilege, religion, trade, grievances, and courts of justice was made, Eliot should deliver himself as to general affairs.[1]

"When he rose, a thought of the sorrow recurred that had been so strongly with him when last he quitted the house. And were the reasons less, to any man who loved his country, for sorrow at the hour then present? 'I presume you will easily believe,' he said, 'what sad affections did possess me when with your leaves and favours I last parted here. And should I not acknowledge that the like passions hold me now, though in a different respect, when, in observation of the times, I reflect upon that that's past, weigh the present state, and but look towards the future? It affects me, not only in particular for myself, but generally for all, with astonishment and sorrow.' After what had been witnessed and done when they were last assembled, it might seem incredible that they were there to renew complaint of the invasion of liberty of men's persons, and property in men's goods. That they were to complain of wrongs to religion such as never till then

[1] "This speech, as I have had to remark of so many others, has not until now been printed. I found it among the MSS. at Port Eliot. If the date had not been upon it, its internal evidence would have sufficed to indicate as much."

Digitized by Google

had been equalled. That their merchants, members of that house, had suffered wrongs from which their privilege had not protected them. That they were there to hide their faces with shame at the thought of their country in the eyes of foreign nations! It was too well known, no pretence could shadow it, that as from every action of late years in domestic affairs, so also from those abroad, there had come to them disgrace and loss; and though yet there might be doubt whether, in a former reign, their foreign disgraces had been owing more to the tongue than to the sword, of late they had lost everything by the sword. They had lost of themselves, of their alliances, their friends, their ships, their men. 'Ah! who has tears to number them! whose sorrows can recount them that in these late times have been lost! Our reputation also, our honour is gone; that which was the very secret of this nation, and by which even miracles have been wrought!'

"Eliot spoke then with extraordinary bitterness of the last expedition to Rochelle. He said that it had not only put the true religion in peril, but involved England in shame. He asked whether any man 'now can doubt that the protestant religion is in hazard everywhere abroad; and when that light is extinct in all the world besides, I will submit to your judgments how long we shall escape the darkness.' But was this all? What might those unhappy Frenchmen say? 'Our fathers, you know, were happy, and we have seen felicity ourselves—so late was it yet amongst us. *Then*, all our neighbours took comfort in our friendship. *Now*, such is the alteration, such the

Digitized by Google

change we suffer, that we are not only unfortunate in ourselves, but to our friends disastrous—*the occasion of their miseries, and powerless to help them!*'

"Under cover of a classical fable, this brave and dauntless speaker introduced what next he had to say. He had to tell the privy councillors that what was wanted in the kingdom was counsel; and he did it thus. The Rhodians had a story of their island, he said, that when Jupiter was delivered of Pallas, it rained there gold in abundance; and this, after their fashion, they moralized. Pallas, so born, they held to signify both prowess and policy, martial worth and wisdom: wisdom too, both human and divine, implying not only instruction for the affairs of men but in the service and worship of the gods. Such virtues so engendered, being the property of their princes, their Jupiters, and by them made active to such delivery as that of the full-armed Pallas, they believed themselves, as a consequence, to be always prosperous and happy, full of the abundance of honours, and with wealth ever raining down. The fable, Eliot thought, might have just application to members of that house, and some instruction for their purpose. Aforetime might their island have been taken for a Rhodes, the proper seat of gods, wherein, when action had been added unto counsel, and counsel joined to action, when religion and resolution had come together, there wanted nothing of the felicity or blessing that wealth and honour could impart. Wisdom and valour singly had availed not; Apollo had not satisfied, Mars had been too weak; but both their virtues meeting with religion, and

Digitized by Google

concurring in that centre—as in the person of their Pallas, their Minerva, their last great queen![1]—never had those failed in their chronicles and stories to give both riches and reputation, the true showers of gold mentioned in the fable. And one thing more there was not unworthy to observe in that fancy of the ancients, that this Pallas, this excellence, this nurse of happiness and good fortune, was not begotten by Jupiter himself, but first conceived by Metis, signifying counsel. Jove listened to other wisdom than his own, and so brought forth his masterpiece.

"Eliot's closing sentences, in further application of his fable, and in allusion to the death of Buckingham, possess unusual interest, and in themselves are very striking.

"'Well, sir, has our Metis, now, our council, been pregnant in this age? Have the children of these times been like to her Minerva? In the late days of peace, when our former king reigned over us, we were all treaty without action: Mercury was delivered, and you know what effects it had. In these now, you see, Mars is born, and his successes are as ill. But, in our peace or war, what Pallas has been discoverable, what Palladium can be found? Where has been that centre of religion to which all motions should have turned; where the wide and large circumference to which the extension of that point should lead? If in particulars should be taken a strict account thereof, I believe there would be found but the like addition to

[1] "The reader will not need to be reminded of the studies that so lately had occupied Eliot, and which he here in some sort reproduces."

Digitized by Google

Mercury and Mars that Timotheus made for Fortune. Metis had no share in that!

"'No, sir, it is too manifest, in some indeed acknowledged, in others not deniable, that not Metis but a wrong mother has been breeding for us, and from her false conceptions have proceeded the abortive issues we complain of. But perchance it will be said, that mother is now dead; the fear of that is gone; therefore hereafter it will be better, and we may resume our hopes. Thus I presume many men conceive. But for my part I cannot yet discern it—and I shall never stick to render my doubts open to this house, from whose wisdom only I must look for satisfaction. Though our Achan be cut off, the accursed thing remains. The Babylonish garment is yet left which Achan first brought in: and whilst that is with us, what hopes or expectations can we have? While the papists, the Arminians, and their sectaries have countenance; while those men are in favor; while such are in preferment; while they stand so near the elbow of the king that they have power (and in their own cases![1]) to impeach the credit of this house; how can it be but that our enemies must chase us, and God will not be turned from the fierceness of his wrath? For from thence it comes that we are so unfortunate; unfortunate abroad, unfortunate at home, and in these meetings still unfortunate! A ME FACTUM EST, is the motto that HE gives! All the crosses that do

[1] "Eliot here puts marginal note: '*Bishop* Montagu': this notorious person having upon his own solicitation obtained a royal pardon from the sentence passed against him by the house."

Digitized by Google

happen to us are but as His corrections, when, for want of duty and sincerity in His service, man draws upon himself the fury of His anger. I doubt not but the unhappiness is confessed of which this surely is the cause: for prevention whereof in our future labours we shall doubtless seek to make our reconciliation with God, and, according to the precedents and piety of former meetings, humble ourselves before Him.

"'Mr. Speaker, I could wish these things had proceeded from some other, and I had then been silent. But failing in that desire, and weighing the necessity of the cause; it being for the honour of the king, for the safety of the kingdom, for the assurance of our friends, the support of our religion; I could not but against all difficulties resolve, as Cicero did in the like, *quemvis mallem suscipere quam me, me autem quam neminem.*'

"The last allusion implies what already has been explained, that this speech, not delivered in any formal debate, but upon a motion which was to pass as of course, had a well-understood purpose. Allusion was afterwards made to it, but no reply followed. The committees were directed to be revived, and a call of the house was ordered for the following Monday."[1]

"Religion and its Overseers," "Tonnage and Poundage," the "Scene of the Second of March," "Mr. Speaker held down in his Chair"—are once more History. The voice of Eliot rises clear above all the clamours, and his speeches abide vital as ever on and in all these. His last

[1] Vol. ii. pp. 395-399.

Digitized by Google

appearance, and "Last Words" in Parliament, are given by Forster:—

"As soon as prayers were ended and the members seated, Eliot rose; when at the same moment the Speaker stood up in his chair, and said he had the king's command for adjournment until the morrow-se'nnight, the tenth of March. Eliot nevertheless persisting, the cry became general that he should proceed: several interposing to say that it was not a Speaker's office to deliver any such command; that to themselves alone it properly belonged to direct an adjournment; and that, after some things were uttered they thought fit to be spoken of, they would satisfy his majesty. Again upon this Eliot rose; but then the Speaker, stating that he had the king's express command to quit the house after delivering his message, made a movement to leave the chair; when at once Denzil Holles and Valentine laid hold of his arm on either side and pressed him down. The action was sudden; Finch, taken by surprise, appears to have doubted for the moment what to do; and in that instant, Eliot had begun to speak.[1] This for the time was decisive, the whole house inclining to hear. Then was tested and proved that indefinable

[1] "The account in the Parliamentary Histories is that 'immediately after prayers were ended, and the house set, Sir John Eliot stood up and spoke.' But the account in the text, borne out by the Eliot papers, is strictly that which Lord Verulam's MS. gives ('Archæologia,' 38). In other respects that MS. is not important, though it corrects a misprint of 'kinsman' for 'Kentishman' in Sir Peter Hayman's speech. The speech of Strode, which it contains, is given in the same words in Heath's information."

Digitized by Google

power which acts like a spell upon everyone within reach of its influence. The voice that in the end was to let loose the storm, for the time seemed to deaden and assuage it. Some through curiosity at first, many more through a higher interest, listened silently; and the moment passed when interruption was possible. Without either 'Sir' or 'Mr. Speaker' he began, and to the close he spoke without other hindrance than the growing and gathering excitement of his listeners.

"'The miserable condition we are in, both in matter of religion and of policy, makes me look with a tender eye on both the king and the subject. You know how our religion is attempted; how Arminianism like a secret pioneer undermines it, and how Popery like a strong enemy comes on! That particular of the Jesuits concerning their plantation, their new college, here amongst us; the other things incident to that which our late disquisitions have laid open; are such a demonstration and evidence, and so manifestly in a short view show the power and boldness of that faction, that not to see the danger we are in, were not to know the being that we have. Not to confess, and not to endeavour to prevent it, were to be conscious and partners of the crime. It were so to be partners of the evil as would conclude ourselves guilty; guilty of the breach and violation of all duty, our duty towards God, our duty to the king, our duty to our country.

"'Nor is this danger only in those men who are so active of themselves, and so industrious to evil, that I think

Digitized by Google

no sound man will judge that they portend to be, or can be, instruments of our God. Those men, I mean, whose virtues are so widely known that they have been banished from almost all states else in Christendom, and have come for sanctuary here to us! Those *Jesuits*, I say, are not the whole cause of the danger we are in; which yet were not little, depending merely upon them! It is enlarged by the concurrence of their fautors, of their patrons, by whose countenance and means they were introduced. I speak of the men who now possess amongst us the power and superintendency of law, and who dare to check the magistrates in the execution of all justice. From these men comes likewise another line of danger, pointing at the very centre of our hopes, our religion, our existence. To them I look as to the streams from whence flow the causes of our sufferings here. They are the authors of our interruptions in this place. Their guilt and fear of punishment have cast us on the rocks where now we are. They have no confidence or security in themselves but what they draw from our trouble and disturbance. There are amongst them some prelates of the church, such as in all ages have been ready for innovation and disturbance, though (I fear) at this time more than any. The bishop of Winchester and his fellows are among them, and they confirm it. It is too apparent what they have done, and what practices they have used to cast an aspersion on the king, to draw *his* piety into question, and to give the world jealousy of *that!*

"'I denounce them as enemies to his majesty. All

Digitized by Google

who in like guilt and conscience of themselves do join their force with that bishop and the rest to draw his majesty into jealousy of the parliament, I declare to be his enemies; and amongst them I shall not shirk to name the great lord treasurer, and to say that I fear in his person is contracted the very root and principle of these evils. I find him building upon the old grounds and foundations which were laid by the Duke of Buckingham, his great master. His counsels, I am doubtful, begat the sad issue of the last session; and from this cause that unhappy conclusion was contracted.

"'But for preparation to his reward, this note let me give him by the way. Whoever have occasioned these public breaches in parliaments for their private interests and respects, the felicity has not lasted to a perpetuity of that power. *None have gone about to break parliaments but in the end parliaments have broken them!* The examples of all ages confirm it. The fates in that hold correspondency with justice. No man was ever blasted in this house but a curse fell upon him!

"'I return to the consideration of our dangers. I deduce not the cause from the affections only of that lord, whereof there is so large an indication. His relations likewise express it, his acts and operations in their course. Does he not strive to make himself, and already is he not become, the head of all the papists? Have not their priests and jesuits daily intercourse with him? I doubt not but a few days will discover it even in its secrets, and what plots and machinations have been laid. The proof I am confident

Digitized by Google

will be such as to fix it indubitably upon him. And then it will more plainly be seen by what influence and powers are caused our dangers in religion!

"'In policy, wherein like fear is apprehended, the demonstration is as easy. I can but touch it now in respect of the straightness we are in. In that great question of tonnage and poundage, the interest which is pretended for the king is but the interest of that person, the lord treasurer. It is used by him as an engine for the removing of our trade, and if it be allowed it cannot but subvert the government and kingdom. It was a counsel long since given against us by Hospitalis, chancellor to Charles the Ninth of France, that the way to debilitate this State, the way to weaken and infirm it and so to make it fit for conquest and invasion, was not by open attempt, not by outward strength to force it, but first to impeach our trade, to hinder or divert it, to stop it in our hands or to turn it into others, and so lay waste our walls! those wooden walls, our ships, that both fortify and enrich us! That counsel is now in practice. That intention is brought to act. Though yet it be shadowed by disguise, and now stands masked before us, I doubt not but a few days will open and discover it. The purpose then will be plain, that in this work is meant our ruin and destruction. To that end already strangers are invited to drive our trade; or at least, which will be equally as dangerous, our merchants are to be driven to trade in strangers' bottoms.

"'It is this design so ignorantly conceived, it is the guilt thereof, that imprints a fear upon this great lord's

Digitized by Google

conscience, and makes him misinterpret our proceedings and misrepresent them to his majesty. And therefore is it fit for us, as true Englishmen, in discharge of our own duties in this case, to show the affection that we have to the honour and safety of our sovereign, to show our affection to religion, and to the rights and interests of the subject. It befits us to declare our purpose to maintain them, and our resolution to live and die in their defence. That so, like our fathers, we may preserve ourselves as freemen, and by that freedom keep ability for the supply and support of his majesty when our services may be needful. To which end this paper which I hold was conceived, and has this scope and meaning.'[1]

"The paper which he held was the Declaration drawn up by the committee of trade. He advanced with it to the table, but the Speaker refused to receive it. He desired it to be read by the clerk. The clerk also refused.[2] The

[1] "From the MSS. at Port Eliot. This speech has never before been printed with anything like the same fulness and precision."

[2] "The Clerk shared with the Speaker the disgrace of the day, and showed himself equally deserving of the praise of Bagg. As early as the opening of the first session that worthy had written to the Duke of Buckingham to single out the two men who would, if properly handled, be of the greatest service to his majesty's designs in the House. It is curious to read the passage now, and observe how correct it proved. No where, as with rogues, are the instincts of fellowship so sure! 'My good friend Sir John Finch must not insinuate wth the house, he must endure theire frownes, and hazard his creditt wth them for his maties service. Wright the clearke of parliament, of all men sithens my being of that house, hath done most service to his matie, and it is much in his power to doe good: he is

Digitized by Google

excitement, raised to extraordinary height by what had fallen from Eliot, was now on the point of breaking into violence. Twice the Speaker was asked, in a rush of voices, whether he would not put the Declaration to a vote; and twice, with weeping protestation that the king had otherwise commanded him, he refused. Selden then addressed him: told him they must sit still, and do nothing, if he would not put the question *they* commanded: that if his refusal were admitted, they who came after him might also plead the king's command: that his majesty had wholly divested himself of such authority, when, by order under the great seal, he directed parliament to meet, and afterwards in solemn state received him as their Speaker; 'and do you now refuse to be our Speaker?' The wretched man could only still reply that the king had given express injunction; and again moving from his chair, he was again forced into it by Holles, Valentine, and Long: the first swearing by 'God's wounds' he *should* sit there till it pleased them to rise! May, Edmundes, and other councillors had advanced to his rescue; but only to hear the oath which Mr. Holles had sworn, and to be borne back helpless to their seats by younger and stronger men.

either to be made serviceable by faire or enforced by violent wayes to doe his duetie. Conferre w^th^ some of yo servants about him, he is the most usefull^st^ man of the house.' MS. S. P. O. 17th March, 1627-8. Of Wright's rascality one of his majesty's servants received afterwards convincing proof: Sir Thomas Edmundes having left 2,000*l.* in his hands on going ambassador to France, to find himself, at his return, completely swindled out of it.—*Birch's Transcripts, Pory to Brooke*, 15th Nov. 1632.

Digitized by Google

"Thus finally forced down into his chair, appeal for the third time was made to him. Selden spoke to him once more, warning him that such obstinacy might not go unpunished or it would become a precedent to posterity. Sir Peter Hayman disowned him for a Kentish man; called him the disgrace of his county and the blot of a noble family; and saying that posterity would remember him with scorn and disdain, proposed to have him brought out of the chair to the bar, and then and there to have another Speaker chosen. Strode took up this appeal; and called upon the house not to suffer themselves, by leaving the Declaration unvoted, to be turned off like scattered sheep as they were last session, and sent home with a scorn put upon them in print. 'Let all who desire this Declaration read and put to the vote,' he added suddenly, 'stand up.' With a shout of assent the vast majority instantly rose; and Eliot, who till now had held the paper, flung it down into the midst of them, on the floor of the house. Selden meanwhile had suggested that the clerk should be made to read it, but in the noise and phrenzy this was scarcely heard.

"Blows had by this time been struck. Francis Winterton, the member for Dunwich,[1] interfering on the side

[1] "This Francis Winterton had his reward for this service. There is a letter of the lord treasurer to the attorney-general of the 20th of the following May (MS. S. P. O.) conferring on him, 'for special service best known to his Majesty,' a valuable grant of arrears of wine licenses, with full power to collect and compound! The grant is subsequently entered under date of the 3rd of June."

Digitized by Google

of Finch, was hustled and thrust aside by Coryton. Sword-hilts began to be touched, and the more timid sought the door. At this moment a message from the king, who had been waiting impatiently Mr. Speaker's return to him, was privately whispered to Grimston, the serjeant at arms; and the old man, then in attendance behind the chair, came forward to the front and laid his hand upon that 'which being taken from the table,' says one of the old reporters, 'there can be no further proceeding.' He had actually lifted the mace when a fierce cry arose to shut the door; and not the mace only but the key of the house was taken from him by Sir Miles Hobart, who shut and locked the door from the inside, put the key in his pocket, and replaced upon the table their symbol and sceptre of authority.[1]

[1] "The Verulam MS. says that Hobart put the serjeant out of the house; and this is said also in the Hargrave MS. (299) quoted in a note by Mr. Bruce. But this is distinctly contradicted by the attorney-general in one of the few passages where his indictment may be accepted as authority. 'That the disobedience of the said confederates was then grown to that height, that when Ed. Grimston, the serjeant at arms then attending the Speaker of that house, was sent for by your maj. personally to attend your highness, and the same was made known in the said house; the said confederates notwithstanding, at that time, forcibly and unlawfully kept the said Ed. Grimston locked up in the said house, and would not suffer him to go out of the house to attend your maj: and when also on the same day, James Maxwell, esq. the gentleman-usher of the black-rod, was sent from your maj. to the said commons house, with a message immediately from your majesty's own person, they the said confederates utterly refused to open the door of the house, and to admit the said James Maxwell to go to deliver his message.'"

Digitized by Google

"Then above all the din and tumult was again heard Eliot's voice. 'I shall now express by my tongue the purpose of that paper. I have here prepared a shorter declaration of our intentions which I can deliver to you, and which I hope shall agree with the honour of the house and the justice of the king!'[1] And while still the Speaker sat by compulsion in his chair, these words were spoken by Eliot and answered by the acclamation of nearly every voice.

> "'*Whereas, by the ancient laws and liberties of England, it is the known birthright and inheritance of the subject, that no tax, tallage, or other charge shall be levied or imposed but by common consent in parliament; and that the subsidies of tonnage and poundage are no way due or payable but by a free gift and special act of parliament, as they were granted to our sovereign King James of blessed memory, by whose death they ceased and determined. And yet notwithstanding they have since been levied and collected, contrary to the said laws and liberties of the kingdom, and to the great prejudice and violation of the rights and privileges of parliament. Which said levies and collections have been formerly here declared to be an effect of some* NEW COUNSELS *against the ancient and settled course of government, and tending to an innovation therein; and are still an apparent demonstration of the same.*

[1] "MSS. at Port Eliot. The words are misstated and misplaced in Heath's information."

Digitized by Google

"'We the Commons, therefore, now assembled in parliament, being thereunto justly occasioned, for the defence and maintenance of our rights and the said laws and liberties of the kingdom, do make this protestation—

"'That if any minister or officer whatsoever shall hereafter counsel or advise the levying or collection of the said subsidies of tonnage and poundage, or other charges contrary to the law; or shall exact, receive, or take the same, not being granted or established by special act of parliament; we will not only esteem them, as they were styled by King James, vipers and pests, but also hereby we do declare them to be capital enemies to this kingdom and commonwealth; and we will hereafter as occasion shall be offered, upon complaint thereof in parliament, proceed to inflict upon them the highest punishment which the laws appoint to any offender. And if any merchants or other shall voluntarily yield or pay the said subsidies or charges not granted as aforesaid, we hereby further protest and declare that upon like complaint thereof, we will without any favour proceed likewise against them, as accessaries to the said offences.'[1]

"'And for myself,' cried Eliot, as with a touching sense that his work that day was yet but imperfectly done,

[1] "From the MSS. at Port Eliot. This very important paper has never before been printed."

Digitized by Google

and the future was stretching dark before him, 'I further protest, as I am a gentleman, if my fortune be ever again to meet in this honourable assembly, *where I now leave I will begin again.*'

"Loud and repeated knocking had meanwhile proclaimed Black Rod's impatience for admission; but no notice was taken of his importunity, and as he came he had to return to his master, now sitting in angry wonder in the house of lords.[1] The work of the lower house was not quite done. Eliot had no sooner ceased than the three resolutions were produced by Holles, who, standing close to the chair in which, coerced and silent, the Speaker remained, cried out himself in a loud voice that he there and then put it to the question—

> "'*Whoever shall bring in innovation of religion, or by favour seek to extend or introduce Popery or Arminianism, or other opinions disagreeing from the true and orthodox church, shall be reputed a capital enemy to this kingdom and commonwealth.*'

"'Aye! aye!' cried hundreds of voices.

> "'*Whosoever shall advise the levying of the subsidies of tonnage and poundage not being granted by parliament, or shall be an actor or instrument therein, shall be likewise reputed an innovator in the government, and a capital enemy to the kingdom and commonwealth.*'

[1] "'Being informed that neither he nor his message would be receaved by the howse, the king grew into much rage and passion, and sent for the Captaine of the Pentioners and Guard to force the door.'—*Verulam MS.*"

Digitized by Google

"'Aye! aye!' the vast majority replied again.

"'*If any merchant or other person whatsoever shall voluntarily yield or pay the said subsidies not being granted by parliament, he shall likewise be reputed a betrayer of the liberty of England, and an enemy to the same.*'[1]

"And as the last loud shout of assent arose from those three or four hundred gentlemen of England, representing millions of as yet silent voices behind them, Hobart flung open the door, and out in a body rushed all the members, carrying 'away before them in the crowd' a king's officer standing at the entrance.[2] He belonged to the guard of pensioners. Upon repulse of the second royal message, they had been sent for to force the entrance; but for the present that outrage was saved. It waited a more disastrous time. Enough that the two hours' scene now passed should have marked "for England, the most gloomy, sad, and dismal day that had happened in five hundred years;"[3] and, for those who had taken leading part in it, a scene of personal

[1] "From the MSS. at Port Eliot. They are given with slight verbal changes and additions in 'Parl. Hist.,' viii. 332."

[2] "J. Isham to Paul d'Ewes, 5th March (Sloane MSS. 4178): 'It is said that a Welsh page, hearing a great noise in the house, cried out, 'I pray you let hur in! let hur in! to give hur master his sword, for they are all a fighting!' In the same letter the scene is described as 'some saying one thing, some another, some ready to take their swords in their hands.' A modest speech in deprecation of Eliot's is also stated to have been delivered by Weston's son."

[3] "D'Ewes's 'Autobiography,' i. 402. The sitting had lasted altogether only two hours."

Digitized by Google

danger to which no man knew the limit. But the work proposed being done, the rest was waited for with the most perfect composure.

"Formally the parliament was not dissolved until the 10th of March, when the king went to the house of lords; and, without even calling up the commons, in a brief and angry speech contrasted their lordships' comfortable conduct to him with the disobedient carriage of the lower house, spoke of the vipers in that assembly, and warned those evil-affected persons to look for their rewards. Already they knew the kind of reward they were to look for. Though the public ceremony of dissolving had been delayed to this day, a proclamation for the dissolution, in effect depriving the members of privilege, had been signed on the 3rd of March; and on the 4th Eliot, Holles, Selden, Valentine, Coryton, Hobart, Hayman, Long, and Strode had received warrants to attend the privy council.

"There was not another parliament in England for eleven years." [1]

The reader will do well to turn and return on Book XI. of the "Biography"—"In Prison and in Westminster Hall." I dare not venture to abridge it, nor can I find place for it here *in extenso*. The trial—if trial it may be called—of Eliot and his compatriots raised through his "plea and demurrer" the "great question which was to determine the power of the House of Commons, and to settle finally for future ages the constitution of England."

Sir John Eliot was sent to the Tower, and he knew

[1] Vol. ii. pp. 448-458.

Digitized by Google

well the sentence meant "imprisonment for life." "Submission" and promises of "good behaviour" to "authority," as against Laud, he never could yield.

Than "Life and Death in the Tower: 1630-1632. Æt. 40-42," by JOHN FORSTER, there is no more heroic, pathetic, beautiful story in our proud Annals, in so far as the Sufferer is concerned. How damning for the King I dare not trust myself to utter; and indeed the decollated head pleads for silence. It was a "close," harsh, obdurate, passionately personal "imprisonment." But the prisoner was allowed "pen, ink, and paper"—splendidly used, as we shall see onward—and the occasional visits of friends—and such friends he had! The "strong man" was wasted away—physically; but to the last his higher than "Roman spirit" remained. Even in that marvellous portrait (facing title-page of our Vol. II.) there is play of humour; and yet it was "painted" only "a few days before his death." The close of the "Biography" will fitly close ours:—

"What happened in those 'few days' we learn indirectly through Lord Cottington, one of the courtiers now eagerly waiting for the news that should tell them their great enemy was gone. As long ago as the 18th of October, immediately after the refusal by the judges of Mason's application and their reference of it to the king, the same minister and councillor, at this time high in Charles's favour, had sent over an exulting message to Wentworth, then newly gone to govern Ireland, that 'his old dear friend Sir John Eliot was very like to die;' and,

Digitized by Google

with this full knowledge and expectation at the court, the reference of the judges went before the king. Its issue is now to be related on the same high authority. I give it as the newswriter gives it; told so simply, and with an effect so deeply pathetic, that a relation in any other words would do it less than justice.

"Mr. Pory writes to Lord Brooke: 'A gentleman, not unknown to Sir Thomas Lucy, tolde mee from my Lord Cottington's mouth, that Sir John Elyotts late maner of proceeding was this. Hee first presented a petition to his Ma^ty by the hand of the Lieutenant his keeper, to this effect. *Sir, your Judges have cõmitted mee to prison here in yᵉ Tower of London, where, by reason of the quality of the ayer, I am fallen into a dangerous disease. I humbly beseech your Ma^ty you will cõmaund your Judges to set me at liberty, that for recovery of my health I may take some fresh ayer, &c. &c.* Whereunto his Ma^ties answere was, it was not humble enough. Then Sir John sent another petition by his own sonne to the effect following. *Sir, I am heartily sory I have displeased your Ma^ty, and, having soe said, doe humbly beseech you, once againe, to sett me at liberty, that, when I have recovered my health, I may returne back to my prison, there to undergoe suche punishment as God hath allotted unto me, &c. &c.* Upon this the Lieu^t came and expostulated with him, saying it was proper to him, and cõmon to none else, to doe that office of delivering petitions for his prisoners. And if Sir John, in a third petition, would humble himselfe to his Ma^tye in acknowledging his fault and craving pardon, hee would willingly deliver it, and made no doubt

Digitized by Google

but he should obtaine his liberty. Unto this, Sir John's answer was,—*I thanke you (Sir) for your friendly advise: but my spirits are growen feeble & faint, w^ch when it shall please God to restore unto their former vigour, I will take it farther into my consideration.*'"[1]

I intercalate here, that an old book preserves record of another self-respecting man, who showed the same grand 'obstinacy.' Let the words be now read: "And when it was day, the magistrates sent the serjeants, saying, Let those men go. And the keeper of the prison told this, saying to Paul, The magistrates have sent to let you go: now therefore depart, and go in peace. BUT PAUL SAID UNTO THEM, THEY HAVE BEATEN US OPENLY UNCONDEMNED, BEING ROMANS, AND HAVE CAST US INTO PRISON; AND NOW DO THEY THRUST US OUT PRIVILY? NAY, VERILY; BUT LET THEM COME THEMSELVES AND FETCH US OUT" (Acts of the Apostles, c. xvi. vv. 35-37).

"It was not God's pleasure that they should ever be restored. He was now reclaiming to Himself that good and faithful servant, whose work on the earth was done. The same newswriter describes in another letter his meeting with Sir John Eliot's attorney in St. Paul's church-yard, on the night of the 12th of November, and hearing from him that he had been that morning with Sir John in the Tower, and found him so far spent with consumption as he was not like to live a week longer. He lived fifteen days. It was not until the 27th of November 1632 that

[1] "Harleian MSS. 1 (Brit. Mus.) 7,000, fol. 186: 13th December, 1632."

Digitized by Google

the welcome tidings could be carried to Whitehall that Sir John Eliot was dead. He had passed away that morning, in his forty-third year.

"But revenges there are which death cannot satisfy, and natures that will not drop their hatreds at the grave. The son desired to carry his father's remains to Port Eliot, there to lie with those of his ancestors; and the king was addressed once more. The youth drew up a humble petition that his majesty would be pleased to permit the body of his father to be carried into Cornwall, to be buried there. 'Whereto was answered at the foot of the petition, *Lett Sir John Eliot's body be buried in the Churche of that parish where he dyed.* And so he was buried in the Tower.'

"No stone marks the spot where he lies, but as long as Freedom continues in England he will not be without a monument."[1]

Meet conclusion of a noble book! Looking back on the Life, I substitute for "Henry Wriothesly Earle of Southamton," Sir John Eliot, and round our little memorial with "golden words" from SAMUEL DANIEL:—

"NON FERT VLLUM ICTUM ILLÆSA FÆLICITAS.

He who hath neuer warr'd with miſerie,
Nor euer tugg'd with Fortune and diſtreſſe,
Hath had n' occaſion nor no field to trie
The ſtrength and forces of his worthineſſe:
Thoſe parts of iudgement which felicitie
Keepes as conceal'd, affliction muſt expreſſe;

[1] Vol. ii. pp. 725-727.

Digitized by Google

And onely men ſhew their abilities,
And what they are, in their extremities.

The world had neuer taken ſo full note
Of what thou art, hadſt thou not beene vndone;
And onely thy affliction hath begot
More fame, then thy beſt fortunes could haue done;
For euer by aduerſitie are wrought
The greateſt workes of admiration.
And all the faire examples of renowne
Out of diſtreſſe and miſerie are growne.

Mutius the fire, the tortures *Regulus*,
Did make the miracles of faith and zeale;
Exile renown'd, and grac'd *Rutilius*;
Impriſonment and poyſon did reueale
The worth of *Socrates*; *Fabritius*
Pouertie did grace that Common-weale
More then all *Syllae's* riches got with ſtrife;
And *Catoe's* death vie with Cæſar's life.

Not to b' vnhappy is vnhappyneſſe;
And misery not t' haue knowne miſerie:
For the beſt way vnto diſcretion, is
The way that leades vs by aduerſitie.
And men are better ſhew'd what is amiſſe,
By th' expert finger of calamitie,
Then they can be with all that Fortune brings,
Who neuer ſhewes them that true face of things.

How could we know that thou could'ſt have indur'd
With a reposed cheere, wrong and diſgrace;
And with a heart and countenance aſſur'd
Haue lookt ſterne death and horror in the face!
How ſhould we know thy ſoule had beene ſecur'd
In honeſt counſels and in way vnbaſe!
Hadſt thou not ſtood to ſhew vs what thou wert,
By thy affliction, that diſcri'd thy heart.

Digitized by Google

It is not but the Tempeſt that doth ſhow
The Sea-man's cunning; but the field that tries
The Captaine's courage: and we come to know
Beſt what men are, in their worſt ieoperdies:
For lo, how many haue we ſeene to grow
To high renowne from loweſt miſeries,
Out of the hands of death, and many a one
T' haue beene vndone, had they not beene vndone.

He that indures for what his conſcience knowes
Not to be ill, doth from a patience hie
Looke onely on the cauſe whereto he owes
Thoſe ſufferings, not on his miſerie:
The more h' endures, the more his glory growes,
Which neuer growes from imbecillitie:
Onely the beſt compoſ'd and worthieſt harts
God ſets to act the hardeſt and conſtant'ſt parts."[1]

II. Critical.

While a State-prisoner in the Tower—as seen in our preceding Memoir—Sir John Eliot was allowed "pen, ink, and paper," and such books as he wished, and had sent up (probably) from Port Eliot and friends, albeit, "he and his fellow-prisoners" were again and again "put to closer restraint, and their keeper, for the license he had given them, was fined a hundred pounds and committed to the Marshalsea" (ii. p. 610). His was too active and thoughtful an intellect to dream away the long lingering days.

[1] Whole Workes, pt. ii. pp. 75-76. (1623.)

Digitized by Google

He was likewise too much of a man to give way to repining, or irritation, or idle complaints. Consequently he occupied himself buoyantly with systematic reading of the "ancient learning" of his University days; and interchanged this with setting down with his pen his thick-coming thoughts and meditations, on men and events and principles. FORSTER gives account of various works, political and philosophical, that he composed in the Tower. The Manuscripts are at Port Eliot in the worthy possession of Lord St. Germans. I hope that our printing of the "Monarchie of Man" will lead the Family to rescue these priceless papers from present hazards (of existing only in MS.), by similarly reproducing them for the select few who prize such things. Here and now our concern is with the "Monarchie of Man" alone. I propose first of all to draw from the "Biography" (as before) the Author's Correspondence and Notices of the treatise: next to give details on the MS. from which we take our text; finally, to state and illustrate by quotations the scope and character of the work. Our Notes and Illustrations will succeed these. Thereby some help, it is hoped, will be rendered to the Student-Reader before going directly to the treatise.

§ I. THE AUTHOR'S CORRESPONDENCE AND NOTICES OF THE "MONARCHIE OF MAN."

Apparently the first intimation that the "Monarchie of Man" had been written, was to Eliot's illustrious friend JOHN HAMPDEN. In January, 1631, he had sent him

Digitized by Google

certain "transcripts" from the treatise that Hampden had urgently desired to see. On reading these he had searched his study for a book to send Eliot of a like subject to his "papers," but found it not. As soon as he recovered it he would "recommend it to his view." We learn from a letter of Hampden's that these first "transcripts" were only of the introductory portion of the MS. He was equally desirous to have the remainder. He thus wrote:— "When you haue finished y^e^ other part, I praye thinke mee as worthy of y^e^ sight of it as of y^e^ former; and in both together I'll bewray my weaknesse to my friend by declaring my sense of them. That I did see, is an exquisite nosegay composed of curious flowers, bound together with as fine a thredd. But I must in the end expect hony fro. my friend: somewhat out of those flowers digested: made his owne, and givinge a true tast of his owne sweetnesse: though for that I shall awaite a fitter time and place. The Lord sanctify unto you y^e^ sowrenesse of yo^r^ present state, and y^e^ comforts of yo^r^ posterity. Yo^r^ ever y^e^ same assured friend, Jo. Hampden."[1]

To this Eliot answered promptly. He told his "Deer Frend" that "he had put him into an earnest expectation of longing for the book he mentioned of resemblance to his own papers. As it was to come from his friend he could not but much covet it; anything giving him satisfaction with that name. And he must the more affect it, in hope to see some better light therein for the discovery of his own errors. They were many and great, he knew,

[1] MSS. at Port Eliot, 4th of April, 1631 (ii. pp. 611-12).

Digitized by Google

and must confess it; for, without a miracle, how should it be otherwise? And then he explained that these papers, forming portions of his treatise on the Monarchy of Man, had been composed only as intermission or relief from graver work then preparing for Hampden's view. For, besides his Essay on Government, he had also his 'Negotium Posterorum' now in hand.

"'The work was done in hast, as a recreation, not a business, in the midst of thinges more serious (wh^ch one day may be honor'd by y^r veiw), whereof this took but the tymes of intermission, as an interjection of the fancie for entertainment and delight. That it was done by me, has sufficient to expresse it, from whom nothing but errors are emergent. Yet as I have I shall still follow to express them to my frend (that by his correction upon them I may reforme myselfe), who can judge what is to be a composition, what a simple, and from the driest thyme extract and sucke a sweetnesse. The other part I promised shall be ready at yo^r comminge; for I know noe other end they have than such an entertainment of my frend, as a letter or complement to meet him. And other light they have not (nor was it design'd them in their birth) than what is given them by yo^r eyes, to wh^ch they shutt and open as the heliotropium to the sunne.'

"Such to his friend was Hampden; of whose literary tastes, and perfect competence to sit in judgment on a piece of English writing, his own letters in this correspondence, manly and simple in their tone, of a style neat and concise, and clothing frank objection in delicate

Digitized by Google

phrase, afford ample proof. A fortnight later, Hampden again writing then about the young Eliots, thanked his friend for the papers; told him he should see him the week following; and said his letters confirmed the observation he had made in the progress of affections, that it was easier much to win upon ingenuous natures than to merit it. 'This, they tell me, I have done of yours, and I account it a noble purchas.'[1]

"Upon that visit at the end of May, Hampden had brought away another batch of manuscript, and at the close of June thus wrote concerning it.

"'Sir,—You shall receave y^e booke I promised, by this bearer's immediate hand; for y^e other papers I presume to take a little, and but a little, respitt. I have looked upon y^t rare piece ownly with a superficiall view;[2] as at first sight to take y^e aspect and proportion in y^e whole; after, with a more accurate eye, to take out y^e lineaments of every part. 'Twere rashnesse in mee, therefore, to discover any iudgment, before I have ground to make one. This I discerne, that 'tis as compleate an image of y^e patterne as can be drawne by lines; a lively character of

[1] "MSS. at Port Eliot, 11th May, 1631. The more important passages were formerly quoted. Mr. D'Israeli misprints 'ingenious natures.'"

[2] "This is one of the letters published by Mr. D'Israeli, who prints '*or*' for 'as;' falls into other errors, such as 'fountain*s are*' instead of 'fountaine was;' and towards the end substitutes '*told*' for 'bidd.' This last was to improve the style. But Hampden, being a perfectly natural writer, was not afraid of the repetition of 'bidd' in the same sentence."

Digitized by Google

a large minde; the subiect, method, and expressions, excellent and homogeneall, and, to say truth (sweete heart) somewhat exceeding my comendations. My words cannot render them to the life; yet (to show my ingenuity rather than witt) would not a lesse modell have given a full representation of that subject? not by diminution, but by contraction, of parts? I desire to learn; I dare not say. The variations upon each particular seem many; all, I confesse, excellent. The fountaine was full; y^e^ channell narrow: y^t^ may be y^e^ cause. Or that the author imitated Virgill, who made more verses by many than he intended to wright, to extract a iust number. Had I seen all this, I could easily have bidd him make fewer; but if hee had bidd mee tell which he should have spared, I had bine apposed. So say I of these expressions: and that to satisfy you, not myselfe; but that, by obeying you in a comaund so contrary to my owne disposition, you may measure how large a power you have ouer Jo. HAMPDEN. Hampden, June 29th, 1631. Recomend my seruice to Mr. Long, and if S^r^ Ol. Luke be in towne, expresse my affection to him in these words. Y^e^ first part of y^r^ papers you had by y^e^ hands of B. Valentine long since. If you heare of yo^r^ sonnes, or can send to y^m^, lett mee know.'

"To this Eliot replied in the middle of the following month. He had read superficially the treatise recommended to him by Hampden, and had received the first part of his own papers; of which if his friend would now send him the rest, there was an acquaintance of theirs

Digitized by Google

wishing to see them, from whom they should return at any time to Hampden's service. Only slightly he criticises his critic, and with nothing of the author's self-love; for quite unaffectedly he tells him that he would have preferred to have his objections stated with even less reserve and praise. At the same time he throws out an answer to a former doubt of Hampden's as to a too great reliance on authorities, drawn from the very book commended to him.

"'The censure w^ch you give them is some part of the satisfacõn w^ch I crav'd, but not all the office of my frende. Yo^u render it but in generalls, w^ch conclude not: and w^th such an allay of favour, if not more, that this might hinder the operation of the physicke if the natural affections of the body did not helpe it. To apply it to the last part, I cannot without reveiw: haveing noe copy, nor a head that cann containe it. To reduce it to the former, I may pervert y^r meaninge, having noe rule to warrant it. That, yo^u knowe, wholie treats of polliticks; whose proprietie it is, as I take it, to be handled by authorities: and I remember not, amongst the latter writers, where I have seen it otherwise. He that you sent me has it soe (of whom we will speake hereafter), in w^ch kind, if ther be more then necessary, that superfluity may be lefte; wherof some I have purged already, as it was obnoxious to my sense; and for the rest, desire the better indication of yo^r reason, wherein you must deale freely and particularly.'"[1]

It is needful to quote also the continuation of the letter

[1] Vol. ii. pp. 612-615.

Digitized by Google

to Hampden for the sake of Forster's commentary, and because it affords a glimpse of the bearing of the Prisoner in the Tower. "'The present expectation of *this* place' [the Tower] 'is uppon the committment of the Scotsmen. Mackay and Ramsey are our fellow prisoners in the Tower. Betweene them wholie the contestation does nowe rest: upon a single affirmacon and deniall, w^ch^ it's said shall be decided by a combate.[1] Our martiall preparations are complete. The Marquis is gone, or shipt. Fortune and he are enter'd in the list, whose successe depends on hope. We that have no imploym^t^ have noe trouble; but with that nothing injoy the security of ourselves. Hazards there are not, wher ther are noe adventures. And as the gaine is lesse in the dull art of husbandry, the safety is much more than in that windie marchandise wh^ch^ insults upon the waves. Soe, with us that only intend the dressinge of our gardens, our harts, and the feilds of our affections and desires, though we have not that splendor and magnificence w^ch^ greatnesse does import, yet our tranquillitie may content us. Our more certaine way to happinesse would make us certainly seeme more fortunate,

[1] "This silly affair, which had very nearly led to that revival of a wager by battle which was actually claimed, and found to be still a part of the old law, nearly two centuries later, will be found described in 'Rushworth' (ii. 112). The Marquis to whom Eliot refers as having gone, was Hamilton, who had raised six thousand men in Scotland, and gone to join Gustavus, whom the English government only dared to assist *in*directly; and out of that levy had sprung certain charges alleged to have been made by Ramsay, and offered to be proved against him, failing witnesses, by single combat."

Digitized by Google

if we knew it. Yo^{u}, deer freinde, I know are a master in this trade; and I honour, and not envie, the perfection yo^{u} have gott. Scorne nott to admitt others to that society in w^{ch} noe man is refus'd; but afford them some instruccõns for institucõn in that virtue. In charity to all, this is a dutie w^{ch} yo^{u} owe. To me, in pittie, the obligation is more strickt; whoe, having more need than all men, am more affected wth yo^{r} favours, as being intirely more, if wthout prejudice I may say soe, y^{r} freinde and servant, J. E.'"[1]

On this his Biographer remarks:—

"In the closing sentences of that letter, suggested by the enterprise (under the lead of Lord Hamilton) to carry help to Gustavus Adolphus, a something seems to reveal itself which is not without touching significance. The philosopher, we may fear, had not schooled himself yet to a quite perfect acquiescence in his own philosophy. Would he not too gladly have exchanged, after all, that dull art of husbandry with its much safety and its little gain, for the higher chances though surer danger of the windy merchandise that insults upon the waves? He was fitting his monarchy of man to the throne of a prison, and the task he found to be a hard one. But what if meanwhile it had been, or still were possible, to strike another stroke for religion and for freedom, if not in the English parliament house yet on a German battle-field! Nevertheless again to his friend he turned in these half restless hours, as to a 'master in the trade' of teaching

[1] "MSS. at Port Eliot: 19th July, 1631."—*Ibid.*, p. 615.

Digitized by Google

and tranquilising a too impatient prisoner; as to one who embodied in himself the lesson hardest to acquire: a man fit to direct councils and govern states, yet quietly content with no higher employment than that of farming his lands in Buckinghamshire."[1]

The narrative continues:—

"'Hampden replied by a pleasant little note, which was not accompanied by the severer criticism his friend had asked for, but by the sensible and agreeable substitute of a buck out of his paddock of Great Hampden. 'DEARE SIR, I receaued a letter from you the last weeke, for w^ch I owe you ten, to countervaile those lines by excese in number that I cannot equall in weight. But time is not mine now, nor hath bine since that came to my hands: in your favour therefore hold mee excused. This bearer is appointed to present you w^th a Buck out of my paddock, w^ch must be a small one to hold proportion with y^e place and soyle 'twas bred in. Shortly I hope (if I do well to hope) to see you; yet durst I not prolong y^e expectation of y^or papers. You have concerning them layde comaundes upon mee beyond my ability to give you satisfaction in; but if my apology will not serve when wee meete, I will not decline y^e seruice, though to y^e bewraying of my owne ignorance, which yet I hope yo^r love will couer. Yo^r ever assured friend and seruant, Jo. HAMPDEN.'"[2]

Besides Hampden, Eliot had other friends who took an

[1] Vol. ii. p. 616.

[2] "From the MSS. at Port Eliot: 27th July, 1631."—Vol. ii. pp. 616-17.

Digitized by Google

interest in his Writings. THOMAS HATCHER of Grantham—that to-day lies in a light of glory as the birth-place and school-place of Dr. Henry More and Sir Isaac Newton—is next to be introduced, as pre-eminently capable and as intensely loving towards the Prisoner. Early in September, 1631, Eliot sent to Hatcher his completed treatise. He had promised it sooner, but the papers were with Hampden. They had come, he writes, "entirely to his hands but yesterday." The "Biography" proceeds:—

"In parts as they were created, they had been disperst; so had they gone to Luke, to Knightley, and to other friends; and thus they had been much divided, but little seen. In a complete form they had been seen by Mr. Hampden only, and Mr. Hatcher's was 'the second view intended them, w^ch^ now they come to take, and to receave yo^r^ tast and relish of them.' In the next sentences some touch of an author's sensitive and anxious temperament may perhaps be detected. 'Yo^u^ must be just herein,' he said. 'Soe much they challendge as their due; without partialitie to censure them. Wherein by the bonds of friendship I oblidge yo^u^ freely to deale with me; w^ch^ shall be an expression of the quality of yo^r^ love. And if you faile in this, I shall then doubt in all. Acquitt you of this jeolosie as speedily as you may, and return these pilgrims to me, that they may be faire written in one body. The blotts and interlinings yo^u^ must pardon; w^ch^ are incidents to such draughts: this being more subject to them than others, comming from a pen more fals and weake than all; to which a disadvantage more was added, in that it was an

Digitized by Google

effort of recreation only, and noe labour.' When the design for it surprised him, he added, he had some more serious things in hand; and these still held on for the business of his thoughts, the others being made but a sport and entertainment for a while. The allusion was to his Memoir of the Parliament, and to his Tract on Government. He closed his letter with messages of remembrance to his friend's 'countrimen Sir Will Armine, S^r^ Edward Ayscough, and the other honest Tom,[1] w^th^ all y^r^ noble Ladies,' for whose health and happiness he should sacrifice his humblest prayers."[2]

"Mr. Hatcher's reply, dated from Carby three weeks later, is enthusiastic in its acknowledgement of Eliot's confidence and favour. Many comforts had he stored up in his life, derived from Eliot; but such supreme enjoyment he had never known as at the hour in which he found himself entrusted with those jewels, his papers, to make him glad and happy with the fruition of them before so many his far abler friends, to whose view and judgment he might more profitably have presented them. But he beseeched his friend not to expect that he should pass any censure upon them; for how could they need that, coming from such hands?[3] That was not the end for which he so much had 'desired and thirsted' for them; but that he

[1] "Mr. Godfrey; whose name was Thomas, as Mr. Hatcher's was."

[2] "MSS. at Port Eliot: 1st September, 1631."

[3] "'Especially from me, who too well know, and am too conscious to myselfe of mine own emptinesse and weaknesse of judgment, to dare hazard it upon such a subject.'"

Digitized by Google

might in them, though but imperfect images and representations of their author, enjoy in part Eliot himself, to the satisfaction of his affections in some degree and measure.[1] He had received them only at the beginning of the week in which he was writing;[2] and he could not now think them so sure in any hands as in his own. He would therefore crave to keep them till the next term, when he intended (God willing) himself to render them safe at the Tower."[3]

"Next term came and passed, however, and the promise was not kept; Mr. Hatcher writing on the 10th of October to say that having happily got rid of the urgent

[1] "'And also from them gather some good knowledge and instructions, to the bettering of my mynd and understanding; for from them we most willingly learne of whose love we are best persuaded: and this being thus, I assure myselfe you likewise obtaine some part of yo^r end; and it cannot but be well contenting unto you, that that w^ch was yo^r sport and recreation, may now be the delight and profitt of yo^r freind.'"

[2] "'I received them but the beginning of this weeke, the 19th of this month, and doe somewhat marvel at y^e slacknesse, for by y^r letter I perceave they came from you, y^e first of this present.'"

[3] "I give the close of the letter. 'In the meane time, they shall not want such cherishings as may be expected from him who will ever beare a most faithfull and true-hearted affection to you their authour.—Yo^rs THO: HATCHER. S^r, I beseech you present my love and heartiest well-wishes to my noble gossip, yo^r now onely companion [Wat. Long]. As to yo^r servant, o^r old good freind, and Mr. Atturney's great favourite' [Valentine], 'we cannot yett have the happinese of his presence in these parts; nor have heard anything of him since his departure from Westminster.'—*Carby*, 22nd Sept. 1631. Port Eliot MSS."

Digitized by Google

occasions which were to have rendered necessary his attendance in London that term, he had found himself at liberty to 'descend into his own infirmities,' which daily persuaded him not to hazard a weak body to so long a winter journey. To have broken his promise of seeing his imprisoned friend had been nevertheless a great grief to him; and he could not bring himself as yet to take advantage of that messenger to return his papers, those pledges of his love, and so lose the opportunity of again reading them with that attention and leisure which both their own worth required, and his affection to them challenged from him.[1] Since the first receipt of them he had been in this respect unfortunate, 'not having been two whole days at home;' and upon the same love, therefore, which had first moved Eliot to communicate them, he should rely for his permission to keep them a little longer. 'But I will engage my promise once more, to send them safe unto you before the end of this tearme, unlesse you signifie yo^r^ pleasure for my longer enjoying of them.' His letter closes with the old earnest message from 'all the good friends' of Sir John in those Lincolnshire parts; being

1 "'The breach of promise, and change of resolution, are things in themselves so grievous unto me, that I need no other punishment for them, than mine own guiltinesse; let me therefore humbly deprecate yo^r^ displeasure, that it may not be added to that weight. W^ch^ I shall hope to obtaine the rather, if you please to consider that my promise was primarily grounded upon an opinion of my necessary attendance at London this tearme, for the dispatch of some urgent occasions; w^ch^ now happily falling away, I am sett free from y^e^ engagem^t^, and at liberty.' Port Eliot MSS: 10th of October, 1631."

Digitized by Google

especially required, he adds, to send from 'S^r Ed: Ayscoughe, who is now with me, his truest love, and best respects, and heartiest well-wishes.' Eliot replied five days afterwards to the effect that one who was so pious in his favours needed not to doubt constructions. Such purposes as necessity prevented were satisfied by her laws; and the observances of the greater good and benefit could be no breach of promise.[1] For the papers his friend retained, he was to use unto Christmas, as he desired, his own liberty in returning them; but he was to remember that with them an account of them was to be rendered. 'That audit is expected, and I doe know you'll keep it, who will be just with y^r enemies, much more with y^r freinds.'"

"Eight days before Christmas the 'audit' was rendered; Mr. Hatcher not daring, as he then wrote, to transgress the limits set for return of the papers, although he had pressed as near as might be on the time. For he confessed he was loath, sooner than needs must, to part with such sweet companions, such faithful counsellors; while he could not in his reason and judgment but acknowledge that it was not fitting such jewels should lie so long hidden and obscured in his hands. But how was he to comply with that other harder condition laid upon him? What could *he* write that should be worthy of

1 "'My affections w^ch are earnest for y^r companie doe more desire y^r health, and that which is soe pretious in itselfe, I would not hazard for him that is soe vile.' Port Eliot MSS: 15th October, 1631."

Digitized by Google

such excellence? The next term, he supposed, some occasions might take him to London, where as the best recompense of that journey he should be glad to see and attend Eliot; ready then, if he still exacted it, to discharge himself in person of that debt which he had laid so hard upon him. Nevertheless the good man, though apparently at the close of what he has to say, lingers and pauses still, as if the subject had a fascination he could not resist; and he ends by launching into eulogy of Eliot's work expressed with a warmth of personal affection that gives it an interest beyond the most refined or delicate criticism. The value of the tribute is its identification of the man with the philosophy. In the grandeur of its design, in the reach and scope of its moral teaching, in the lofty ideal to which its thought aspires, this friend sees only in another form his old leader in the commons' house, continuing still his labours as in that other field, applying all his faculties and energies to the service of his countrymen, teaching moral restraint with the same ardour wherewith he contended for political freedom, and working out in the silence of his prison, as amid the struggles of that famous parliament, the same disinterested aims with the same unfaltering purpose. The most keen critical powers, if worthy Mr. Hatcher had possessed them, could not have guided him to a conclusion more wise or just.[1]

[1] I must annotate (as differing from Mr. Forster) that as Eliot really and honestly wished criticism not eulogy, Hatcher and others had better served him if they had pointed out his flaws of style. These were the very things that the author, full of his matter, was

Digitized by Google

"'But, alas! when can my poverty adde to yo^r abundance! However, my heart shal be then, and ever open unto you. Although I shall not be able to say more than this, w^ch I now possesse, that when I had read your discourse, and contemplated the excellency of the matter; the exquisitenesse and beauty of the forme, the contrivall and disposition of each part, the elegancy of the phrase and expression, and the riches and majesty of the whole; it raised such an admiration in me, as did preclude all censure, and left no roome for opinion to enter; w^ch therefore yo^u must not expect. Besides, I found in it this property of excellence, that the better it is knowne and understood, the more still it insinuates itselfe into the liking and approbation of the reader. For; upon my first reading, I must confesse I fancyed to myselfe many passages w^ch I thought might be faultie; and I was glad, thinkinge thereby to approve myself just and faithfull unto you (w^ch are the titles I more study and labor for, than to be accounted wise and judicious; since I conceive a possibility of attaining unto them, whereas these are above my reach); when upon a second and third perusall, I saw myselfe frustrated of that hope. All those imaginations vanished; and nothing appeared save perhaps a slip of a penne, an omission or redundance of a word, the propriety of a phrase, or some such small thing, as w^ch upon yo^r owne review will easily of itselfe fall off. W^ch review I wish might speedily be made; that so yo^r freinds might the

most apt to overlook, or, at least, was less likely to detect. Eliot wished, but did not get, "censures" (in both senses).

Digitized by Google

sooner be made happy in the enjoying thereof. For, I presume, I have-through your bounty but anticipated that favour w^ch^ you intend to them all at last, if not to all, in comunicating unto them these images and representations of yo^r^selfe, wherin yo^r^ freinds, and they that know you, may daily see and enjoy you; these being but the expressions and manifestations of yo^r^ truly ennobled mynd. You [are] the modell and compendium of these; and those that are strangers to yo^u^, may in these gett the knowledge and acquaintance of you; and of themselves, too, if rightly they will apply these rules: and all may learn the way to that happiness and felicity, w^ch^ is the utmost end of all desire, and of all operations. And this, I am confident, is yo^r^ purpose. Yo^r^ thoughts and endeavours terminate not in yo^r^selfe, but are of a farre more large extent and latitude, ayming at the generall and publicke good of all. How you may bring profitt, prosperity, peace, joy, and this happiness to all,—this I know is your study. Your meditations are bent upon this object. W^ch^ blessed thoughts and cogitations in you, least I should too long interrupt with these empty lines, I will here conclude: heartily praying that you may long live, in the full fruition of this happinesse you have discovered; that you may be happy in y^r^selfe, in the contemplation and exercise of all virtue; happy to yo^r^ freinds and country, in the successful bestowing these yo^r^ good directions, and blessed endeavours to raise them, and it, to that height of blisse. And happy may you be to all, when, the sunne of honor shining on yo^r^ virtue, that shadow may attend it w^ch^

Digitized by Google

is onely of price and worth to them that so account it: and amidst these, let me onely have the happinesse, according to my ambition, to be esteemed yo^{r} most faithfull and truly loving freind and servant, THO: HATCHER.—Carby: 17th Dec. 1631.'"[1]

Another friend to whom Eliot sent his completed Manuscript was RICHARD JAMES—since better known as (in my judgment) the all-but-certain contributor of the fine lines on Shakespeare, in the folio of 1632, which begin:—

"A mind reflecting ages past, whose cleere," &c.,

and as author of various other noticeable things.[2] Subsidiarily he is remembered as Sir Robert Cotton's learned Librarian. In forwarding the "Monarchy of Man" to JAMES, its Author's chief desire now, as it would seem, was to satisfy himself as to the propriety of printing and, by inference, publishing it. Under date 15th January, 1632, a letter to Eliot from him strongly urges its publication. I draw again upon Forster:—

"His treatise, he said, was a very good copy of himself, and such as he wished to see printed 'for the use of our countrie.' Peradventure it would raise them to some apprehension of equanimity, magnanimity, and justice; without which there could be no happiness in this life, nor assurance of the other. Sir John had consulted him

[1] "Port Eliot MSS."—Vol. ii. pp. 654-59.

[2] It is possible that I may collect his Poems and other MS. Remains, uniform with George Daniel and Eliot.

Digitized by Google

on the question of putting it forth without his name, as to which he merely says that if his friend should be of mind to let it come forth silently, 'the intimation of the author twice given may be easily altered;' and the remark seems to have led to the erasure of those passages. James closed his letter by allusion to some few notes of his own, calling them his 'but momentary criticisms on the reading,' which desired to go to Eliot by word if they might, or otherwise by what hand he pleased. And so, all there blessing and saluting his noble courage, he rested his faithful servant.[1]

"A detached paper in James's handwriting among the Port Eliot MSS. contains evidently the notes in question, which we may assume, therefore, that Eliot preferred rather to receive in writing than at an interview. They are worth subjoining for their curious evidence of what D'Ewes, in his intolerant puritanical way, calls the writer's 'atheistical profane way.' A comparison with the treatise as finally transcribed shows that Eliot had paid some attention to them, but not much.

"'Monarchie to(o) much extolled.

"'The disquisition on Tacitus's definition impertinent, it being but the flatterie of tyrants (fol. 21).[2]

[1] "MSS. at Port Eliot: '15th Januarie. To my noble friend Sir Ihon Elyott, give theise.'"

[2] "James's objection seems hypercritical, inasmuch as Eliot had distinctly guarded himself against misconstruction in the passage by stating its intention to be simply expository of the origin of the deference to princes. I give the original: 'In His love, in the immense

Digitized by Google

"'David and Solomon not to be stiled the best or wisest of princes. Jewish examples to be warily produced (fol. 25).[1]

"'Augustus not to be commended. He was a villaine: so lived, so died: guided by the gourmand A^nas, and would not heere Agrippa (fol. 25).

"'*Tibi soli peccav.* (pag. 36) because he had committed a politick murder in which he stood cleere to men.

"'Religion, as it is usually taken for profession of these or those articles, is no anchor of state.

"'The secrett of government, *arcanus imperii*, not to be named: 'tis a word of tyrannie. In faire governments all is cleere and open (fol. 74).

depth and vastness of that sea of love, in God's high providence foreseeing that (as of ould tyme with the Israellites), under the terror of His commands, the thunder of His justice, men could not heare and live, Hee was held to have prepar'd a medium betweene them, a Moses to be the keeper of the Laws, a delegate, a substitute for administration of the government. And soe even Tacitus did approve them, *instar dei esse*, not only as His deputies and Vicegerents, but as the image of His majesty and the figure of His glory among men. From whence cometh also that of St. Paul in willing every-sowle to bee subject to the higher powers, since there is no power but of God, and the powers that bee are ordained of God.' There is no opinion of his own in that part of the treatise."

[1] "The passage objected to still stands: 'Let David and Solomon be examples; David the best, Solomon the wisest of all princes:' Eliot giving the scriptural authority in his margin. The second allusion to Solomon as the 'wisest of all mortals' stands also unaltered; and in like manner Eliot had refused to give up Augustus, whose eulogy remains."

Digitized by Google

"'Solomon (pag. 75) "that was the wisest of all mortalls." No. That amongst the Jews is so reputed.

"'The discourse concerning the philosophers not much pertinent to the Treatise; they being for the most part, to their private ends, politick impostors, and so fam'd by Plato. Otherwise trust in so much as concerns a politicke bodie is ever open and cleere (pag. 77).

"'Fortunat unfortunat peice of meritt (pag. 150). *Aliter dicend.*'"[1]

"This kind of objection, however, was not what Eliot had most to apprehend, in committing what he had written to a wider audience. Intimations of a fear from other and dearer friends had reached him, which he seems to have thought it needful to guard against. Had he not too much regarded from the same point of view, and placed upon a too equal footing, things human and things divine? Had not his tendency been throughout to lift almost to a level with the inspired wisdom, the mere wisdom of the heathen, and to build up his edifice of morality independent of God's revelation? To this fear he addressed himself in a preface for the reader, which, though not preserved with the transcribed copies of his

[1] "It seems doubtful whether James would have had the whole passage otherwise expressed (it is that relating to Overbury), or only the special words quoted; but Eliot, taking him in the latter sense, has deferred to his criticism by striking out 'fortunat,' a change of questionable taste. In the copy at Port Eliot the passage stands 'that fortunat unfortunat piece of merit whoe dyed where nowe I live,' but the pen has been passed through 'fortunat,' and in the British Museum transcript it does not appear."

Digitized by Google

manuscript, I discovered lately among his papers. He well knew, he says in it, there were those who would variously dislike his tract, some for what it was, and some for what it was not. The politics, he knew, were a contradiction to some who only loved their like; but let reason contest reason, and truth decide on both. The morals also would be a scandal to others, who allowed nothing but divine. But in the latitude of his reader's wisdom he had a full security against such objectors. Words without reason would fail to lead *him*. He was not so narrowed in his thoughts as to conceive that a wide circle and circumference bore but one line and deduction to the centre. He knew that all parts admitted their several measures, of the same property and nearness; that if they were direct, there was the like distance and medium even for all; and that from all they must pass through that, before they could reach the end. 'They infinitely deceave,' he added, 'that would persuade us, from this lowe ground and station of the earth, that by one salt and leape in the ordinarie and knowne way ther is an immediat transition into heaven. 'Tis true, *that* is the end all ayme at. All our revolutions must tend thither; there is no other period of our motions; our great Sabboth shal be ther. But a preparation must precede it; and that, and the whole weeke of our indeavors, must be heer. This we must first accomplish before we attaine that rest. Through all this lies the jorney of our pilgrimage, the length whereof takes the whole threed of life. The degrees are the offices of the relations we are in; and he

Digitized by Google

that goes furthest home in these, comes neerest to that rest, and to the promise annext to that condition of performance. Now those offices lie not w^th^in one table of the lawe, but both; according to the wisdom of the Maker, who putts the conservation of the creature as part of the worship to himselfe.'

"The peculiarity that distinguished Eliot's habits of religious thought from those of the great body of the men whom he had led in the last parliament, here very strikingly displays itself. Not in any manner rejecting or depreciating those puritan beliefs and forms in which all that then was best in England found development, and which lay deep and fruitful in his own nature, he would yet have enlarged the base on which they rested, strengthened them by other alliances, and drawn to them an allegiance less exclusive and comprehending wider classes of his countrymen. It was indeed in some degree with this purpose he had written the work, of which, in the same remarkable paper I have been quoting, he proceeds to give brief account. Taking up his last position, in defence of the mixing up of things human with those that are divine, that the creator had put the conservation of the creature as part of the worship of himself, he states that thereon had been commanded those duties unto man, who, being prince of all, should of all have the principal observance. He then defines the duties themselves as implying that various service and necessity to our friends, to our families, to our countries, as respectively they might require it; the greater, as the more honourable, being still to be preferred;

Digitized by Google

and lays it down that only in such order and completeness could be said to rest the entire fulfilling of the law. 'That we faile not in this, through the treacherie of our passions or corruption of our judgments, in not knowing or not loving the right objects of our dutie, I have compos'd this Treatise, for a demonstration in some parts morall and polliticall, w^ch^ I thought usefull to that purpose. Wherein if ther be anie thing that delights thee, 'tis but thyne owne, made pleasant by thy sweetness, as bees convert all humors into honie.' Resuming thus his address or dedication TO THE READER, which formerly I have quoted,[1] he repeats once more that in proposing to give his tract to the world he has yielded to the suggestions of others.

"'If it seeme profitable in the least, 'tis thy great virtue makes it soe. A true embleame of that industrie w^ch^ from the driest thyme extracts juyce and moisture; and what is bitter unto others, renders mellifluous in itself. If it have neither, conceive from whence it comes: where it was but a forme of recreation, not a businesse. And soe passing unto thee, having but spent thy leasure, ther's noe losse. Both I, and it, may be conversant in thy charitie; w^ch^, as we finde, *shall encourage us hereafter in other intentions that we have more serious for thy use*, of w^ch^ this onlie was a remission and noe more, a chorus, a sceane of enter-

[1] According to his wont of fragmentary quotation, Mr. Forster splits the Epistle to the Reader, &c. into several *bits*. The whole complete will be found in its place before the treatise in our vol. ii. Many of Eliot's finest letters are thus provokingly and needlessly broken.

Digitized by Google

tainement in the rest and interim of the acts. . . . It travells with this bouldness, not in the confidence of itself, but upon the invitation of some others.[1] It is their errand that it comes in. If it transgress in this, their importunitie must excuse it. The extension of my guilt, if it deserve that attribute thus to have made it publicke (for in private it offended not), is but the address[2] to thee. That bouldness I assume; wherein thou hast a concurrence in the act, having free libertie to decline it. For w^ch^ I hope that imputation shall not charge me, w^ch^ cannot be w^th^out reflection on thy self; but as thou mak'st it thyne, thou wilt soe use it in favor and contemplation of us both. Farewell.'"[3]

The "Biography" penetratively and eloquently concludes hereon thus:—

"To his friends indeed, as in what he had written for his preface to the treatise itself, we have seen that he disclaimed any larger design than that of whiling away the tedious hours of his captivity. He said it had been a rest to him from more serious labour; an intermission of recreation and repose from more important tasks, such, we cannot doubt, as the completion of his memoir on the parliament, and the collection and revision of his speeches, which we now know to have at the same time occupied him; but whether or not its graver pur-

[1] "Eliot had written 'friends,' but erases it for 'others.'"

[2] "For 'address' Eliot had written 'dedication,' afterwards erased."

[3] Vol. ii. pp. 659-664.

Digitized by Google

poses were designed consciously, they certainly give to it the character in which it makes present appeal to us. There are too many personal references in what he calls its 'political' or opening portion, not to connect, as we have seen Hampden and his other friends associating, the philosopher of the Tower with the statesman of the house of commons; not to lead us to the conclusion that the object of exertion was in both characters the same; and that these exalted meditations were a continuance, under other forms but in the same intense expression, of the active energies of his life. If the impression be also correct that the gradually failing health which is to be traced throughout his imprisonment, though never actually confessed by him till near the close, forbade him to hope that those energies might ever find scope or exercise again, the desire could not but be strongly present with him to make some such final effort to obtain a hearing for what he had most at heart. And this would account for his readiness, not evinced by him as to any other of the works he was busy with, not even as to his tract on government or his memoir, to give effect to the suggestion of friends that he should print and publish this Monarchy of Man. For recreation to himself it might have been written, but it was to be published for the profit and example of his countrymen. An example to console them in temporary defeat; to carry ardour and enthusiasm unhurt through hard and heavy trial; to multiply their powers of resistance and endurance, by strengthening their moral purposes. In this view it completes and consummates his

Digitized by Google

past exertions. His old brave fearlessness is in its inculcation of a perfect restraint and self-command; and the rapid force and grandeur of his younger days is in the magnanimity of its moral composure, maintained through this last scene of all.

"It was the subject of the closing letter he wrote to Selden. He had completed the transcript, and was then about to entrust it, for the printer, to the hands of Richard James. But before finally committing himself he desired again to have the judgment of that learned and sagacious friend. Since Selden last had communicated with him about it, he wrote, he had been much importuned by letters from some others 'to give more libertie to that Treatise w^ch^ you redd.' It was to satisfy the first desire of those others in the view thereof, he had recalled it from Selden so hastily; but to their next desire, for its publication, he dared not be so yielding without some better judgment than his own. 'And therefore I once againe have sent it to yo^u^, qualified in some parts where yo^u^ thought it tender and too quick.' He desired him to read it as it then stood, if his time should have so much leisure; and to return him his censure thereupon, which he should take as an expression of his love, and by which he should direct himself.[1] Selden's answer has not been preserved. In about a month after the letter was written silence falls upon Eliot's prison, and what afterwards passed is unknown."[2]

[1] "MSS. at Port Eliot, 21st February, 1631-2."

[2] Vol. ii. pp. 666-68.

Digitized by Google

Sir William Armyne and Sir Oliver Luke had also urged the publication of the "Monarchie of Man;" and noble Richard Knightley having heard of it from the latter, had earnestly desired a transcript. To the last he wrote thus:—

"'Yu must excuse me that I kept not promise sooner to send yu those papers yu desired, wch I deferd a while for a faire copie to be written, but therein was prevented by Sr Oliver Luke, who has ingros't that to himselfe, and the originall, whch is all that I possesse, I did doubt was hardly legible. Yet rather than faile in all, I have presum'd herewith to adventure it, wch when yu are wearied of the trouble, I shall praie yu to returne againe. Copies I desire may not be taken from it, because transcriptions doe adulterat; and a little change and difference, besides the injurie of the thinge, may drawe on other prejudice. If yu thinke it worthie of more veiw, having perused it over, I will as soone as it returnes, gett it new written heer, wher I maie examine it myselfe, and send a copie to yu. Thus farr by the waie lett me prepare yu to consider it: that it was not made a businesse, but an exercise. In those minutes when that embrio was brought forth, ther wer other things more serious than in art wch one daie may be communicable with our frende[s]; and when that is, your knowledge will be first.'"[1]

The final mortal 'cold' was now upon him. Very touching is his quiet, believing submissiveness to the 'ordering' of his God. It cannot possibly be deemed irrelevant to give here his further letter to Knightley:—

[1] Vol. ii. p. 714.

Digitized by Google

"'For the present,' he adds, 'I am wholly at a stand, and have been soe this fortnight and more, by a sicknesse which it has pleased my Master to impose, in whose hands remain the issues of life and death. It comes originallie from my cold, with which the cough having been longe upon me causes such ill effects to follow it, that the symptomes are more dangerous than the greife. It has weakened much both the apetite and concoction, and the outward strength. By that, some doubt there is of a consumption; but we endeavour to prevent it by application of the means, and as the great physitian seeke the blessinge from the Lord. He only knowes the state of soule and bodie, and in his wisdome orders all thinges for his children as it is best for both. Our duty is submission to the cross w^ch^ he laies on us, whoe in his mercy likewise will give us strength to bear it. Of w^ch^ I have had soe manie trialls formerlie in the infinit particulars of his favour unto mee, as I cannot doubt it now, however unworthie of myselfe; but in the meritts of my Saviour rest confident in that hope which he himselfe has given me, and will fortifie. The assistance of y^r^ prayers I know cannot be wanting to y^r^ frend. Pardon me the trouble of this letter, and as soone as conveniently y^u^ cann let me heare how these thinges come to y^r^ hands, w^ch^ with the remembrance of my service I now send you, restinge y^r^ most affectionate brother, J. El.'[1] This letter, with his rough draft of the papers to which it refers, went to Knightley by a boy in Eliot's service, who

[1] "MSS. at Port Eliot: 'Tower, 15th Marcij 1631' (2)."

Digitized by Google

will appear in another letter, though it seems doubtful if to his master he made appearance again."[1]

I end here with the "Biography's" closing narrative and letters:—

"Six days later he wrote to Luke more hopefully, but with no really better account of himself. It was his last letter to the friend he loved so well. Sir Oliver had asked to have the Monarchy of Man returned to him for a time, and Eliot tells him that he could not yet perform his promise for the returning of that 'boke,' it being not copied as he desired, but that being done he should receive it. In the meantime he had therewith sent, to entertain him, another of less trouble to be read; and that being all of it he had, he must pray his friend, when weary of it, to return it to him again. 'I thanke God,' he continues, 'I finde my healthe amending; and little doth hinder it at this time but my hoarseness, and some remainder of my cough. Those, I hope, time and the season will remove; though they have been longe upon me. Which I must leave to Him that is the best Physitian, to whom likewise I commend the care of you and yours.'[2]

"The day after he wrote to Knightley, who had sent him some medicine for his cough; and in his brief letter, also his last to this true friend, there is a quiet humour blended with its sadness which renders it extremely pathetic. 'I am glad,' he says, 'to have intelligence by y^r^ letter that my papers are come safelie to y^r^ hande, be-

[1] Vol. ii. pp. 714-15.

[2] "MSS. at Port Eliot: 'Tower, 21 Marcij 1631' (2)."

Digitized by Google

cause the messenger, my boy that went with them to you, tarries and never sawe me since. I now write the more willinglie to know whether y^u there finde him *wrapt in any of the leaves, or hidd in some corner of a blott: there are enoughe to cover him and more:* in w^ch if y^r perusall shall discover him, lett me have word in time. Y^r physicke, God willing, I will use, with that w^ch is the best of all others to assist it, and without wh^ch all physicke is in vaine; the success whereof y^u shall hereafter heer. If I may be usefull to anythinge, God can preserve me for it; *if otherwise, and that my labours be at an end, he that disposes that will make me readie for himselfe,* whom we doe serve in all thinges, and to whom an infinit debt is oweinge by all men, but above all by me, y^r frend and brother, J. E.'[1]

"Two more letters are the last that remain to us. They are addressed to Hampden; who, the day before that letter to Knightley was written, had sent excuses and self-reproaches for having been silent longer than was usual with him. He prayed his 'NOBLE SIR' to pardon him. It was well for him that letters could not blush, else his guilt would easily be read on that page. He was ashamed of so long a silence, and knew not how to excuse it; for as nothing but business could speak for him, of which kind he had many advocates, so could he not tell how to call any business greater than holding an affectionate correspondence with so excellent a friend. His

[1] "MSS. at Port Eliot: 'Tower, 22 Marcij 1631' (2)."

Digitized by Google

only confidence was, he pleaded at a bar of love, where absolutions were much more frequent than censures. Sure he was that conscience of neglect did not accuse him, though evidence of fact did. He would have added more; but the entertainment of a stranger-friend called upon him, and one other inevitable occasion. 'Hold mee excused, therefore, deare friend! and if you vouchsafe mee a letter, let mee beg of you to teach me some thrift of time, that I may employ more in your service, who will ever be your faithful servant and affectionate friend, Jo. HAMPDEN. Commend my service to y^e^ soldier [Richard] if not gone to his colours.'[1]

"Well might Hampden be confident that it was a bar of love he pleaded at. With eager haste, the day after that letter, Eliot assured his 'DEAR FRIEND' that what he might command he needed not to sue for. '*Me* yo^u^ have certaynly as y^r^ owne, and whether to be imploied in censure or absolution, convertible to y^r^ will.' But mercy was more covenable than judgment with a prisoner, whose condition being obnoxious to disfavour could not love it. In his friend, however, there was no occasion for that doubt, all being courtesy that came from him; and where there was no debt due, there was no injury. 'I knowe y^r^ many entertaynments and small leasure, and myselfe unworthy to interrupt the least particular of y^r^

[1] "This letter is in the British Museum (Donat. MSS. 2228). It is dated 'Hampden, March 21' (1631-2), and addressed 'To my honnored and deare friend S^r^ John Eliott at his lodging in the Tower.'"

Digitized by Google

thoughts. It satisfies mee to have the assurance of y^r^ friendship, and, *when it was allowable*, that I had the fruition to y^r^selfe.' But, while he thus resigned himself to the harsh exclusion of his friends, he the more desired their thoughts for companionship of his prison; and upon this he has 'a little to expostulate' with Hampden's memory. He conceived that in all things he was not just, though, saving his own word, no obligation was upon him. He had an expectation of certain papers his friend was to have sent him, and which his own promise invited, but which yet he heard not of. 'Quit you in this as speedilie as y^u^ can, for w^th^out it you are faultie. I thanke God lately my businesse has beene much with doctors and physitians, so that but by them I have had little trouble with myselfe. These three weeks I have had a full leisure to do nothing, and strictly tied unto it either by their direction or my weakness. The cause originally was a could, but the symptoms that did follow it spake more sickness; and a generall indisposition it begot in all the faculties of the bodie. The learned said a consumption did attend it, but I thank God I did not feele or credit it. What they advise, as the ordinance that's appointed, I was content to use; and in the true show of patient, suffered whatever they imposed. Great is the authority of princes, but greater much is theirs who both command our persons and our wills. What the success of their government wilbe must be referred to Him that is master of their power. I finde myself bettered, though not well, which makes me the more readie to observe them. The divine blessing

Digitized by Google

must effectuate their wit, which authors all the happinesse we receave. It is that mercie that has hitherto protected me, and, if I may seeme usefull in his wisdome, will continue me, amongst other offices to remayne your faithfull friend and servant, J. E.'[1]

"Hampden's reply unhappily is lost. But the affectionate solicitude awakened in him by what his friend had written, and his anxiety at once to hear again, are reflected in every line that Eliot wrote back after an interval of only seven days. It is his last letter. Its words of hope and faith are the last we are to hear from him. With it his correspondence ends; and his prison doors, except for such casual rumours as may yet escape them, will shut against us for ever. What remains of the story of his imprisonment, up to its very close, must be matter of mere doubt and conjecture. But at least the certainty conveyed in these solemn yet joyful assurances to Hampden, cannot pass away. What further cruelties or wrongs have to be endured by Eliot, will never now be known to us; but ever, out of the darkness and silence, will arise and be audible to the last, not complaining or sorrow, but only this martyr-song of thankfulness and praise.

"'Besides the acknowledgment of your favour that have so much compassion on your frend, I have little to return you from him that has nothing worthy your acceptance but the contestation that I have between an ill bodie and

[1] "MSS. at Port Eliot: 22nd March, 1631 (2)."

Digitized by Google

the aer, that quarrell, and are friends, as the sunne or winde affect them. I have these three daies been abroad, and as often brought in new impressions of the colds, yet both in strength and appetite I finde myself bettered by the motion. Could at first was the occasion of my sickness; heat and tendernesse by close keepinge in my chamber has since increast my weakness. Aer and exercise are thought most proper to repaire it, which are the prescription of my Doctors, though noe physick. I thank God other medicines I now take not, but those catholicons, and doe hope I shall not need them. As children learne to go, I shall get acquainted with the aer. Practice and use will compasse it, and now and then a fall is an instruction for the future. These varieties He does trie us with, that will have us perfect at all parts; and as He gives the trial, He likewise gives the issue. The abilitie that shall be necessary for the worke He will supplie that does command the labour, who, deliveringe from the Lion and the Bear, has the Philistine also at the disposition of his will, and those that trust him under his protection and defence. O! the infinite mercy of our Master, DEARE FRIEND, how it abounds to us, that are unworthy of His service! How broken! how imperfect! how perverse and crooked are our waies in obedience to him! how exactly straight is the line of his providence unto us, drawn out through all occurrents and particulars to the whole length and measure of our time! How perfect is his love that has given his Sonne unto us, and with him has promised likewise to give us althinges! Those that releive us but in part, we honor

Digitized by Google

and esteeme; those that preserve and save us from any danger or extremity, we have in veneration and admire; naie, even for those that morallie are good, from whom there comes some outward benefitt and advantage, it's said some men dare dye. How should we then honor and admire soe good a God and Saviour, by whom we are, by whom we have althinges wee possess, who does releave our wants, satisfie our necessities, prevent our dangers, free us from all extremities, naie, to preserve and save, that died himself for us! What can we render, what retribution can we make, worthy soe great a majestie, worth such love and favour? We have nothing but ourselves, who are unworthy above all; and yett that, as all other things, is his. For us to offer up that, is but to give him of his owne, and that in farr worse condition than we at first received it, which yet (soe infinite is his goodnesse for the merits of his Sonne) he is contented to accept. This, DEAR FREND, must be the comfort of his children; this is the Physicke we must use in all our sicknesse and extremities; this is the strengthening of the weake, the enriching of the poore, the libertie of the captive, the health of the diseased, the life of those that die, the death of that wretched life of sin! And this happiness have his saints. The contemplation of this happiness has ledd me almost beyond the compasse of a letter; but the hast I use unto my frends, and the affection that does move it, will I hope excuse me. Frends should communicate their joyes: this, as the greatest, therefore, I could not but impart unto my frend, being therein moved by the present speculation of your letters,

Digitized by Google

which alwaies have the grace of much intelligence, and are a happiness to him that is trulie yours.'[1]

"Air and exercise were the prescription of his doctors; while for the one he had his smoaky room, and for the other was limited to his walk within the Tower. But it is idle to speculate in the absence of certain knowledge. From the 29th of March on which that letter was written, until the courts opened at Michaelmas term in the first week of the following October, there is an impenetrable blank in Eliot's history. The probabilities indeed are too strong to be resisted, that not only in this interval of more than six months were the cheerless discomfort of his lodging and the restriction of the visits of his friends continued, but that a total suspension of his correspondence was also forced upon him. Yet his friends were too much devoted to him, and among them were men of too lofty station, to permit us to believe that in all this time, absolute and uncontrolled as the court and council were, they could have kept such men entirely ignorant of the treatment or fate of such a prisoner. As to this, with varying report of his health, they were probably informed from time to time; and as to all else, powerless to remedy or abate the wrong, they were doubtless fain to be content that at least there still was life, some hope however desperate, and the certainty that soon or late a parliament *must* come. 'I should gladly heare some cheerful news of Sir John Eliot,' wrote

[1] "MSS. at Port Eliot: 'Tower, 29 Marcij 1632.'"

Digitized by Google

Richard James, as the months went on: 'Will the tide never turn? Then God send us heaven at our last end!'"[1]

§ 2. The Manuscript of our Text.

From the preceding (§ 1), it is evident that Sir John Eliot originally wrote the "Monarchie of Man" in loose papers, and subsequently made several copies. All apparently were less or more incomplete or blotted and illegible—not excluding that now at Port Eliot. Consequently in the deep-shadowed closing months of his imprisonment, he addressed himself to preparing a final "fair copy." It is from this our text is derived. It forms No. 2228 of the Harleian Collection in the British Museum. This MS. passed into the possession of the Holles family (probably Hugh Denzil Holles, an attached friend of Eliot); and finally, from the ownership of that fourth Lord Clare who was created first Duke of Newcastle, became part of the Harleian Collection, as *supra*. This appears from the following entry in the MS. diary of Lord Oxford's librarian, Humphrey Wanley, under date 6th May, 1723—"my Lord sent in a MS. compil'd by Sir John Elliot" (Forster, i. p. 31).

With reference to the carefully constructed title-page of this MS.—reproduced in its place in facsimile (in our vol. ii.)—the "Biography" thus remarks:—

"This reduced fac-simile of that first elaborately written page of Eliot's own manuscript, may transport

[1] Vol. ii. pp. 715-721.

Digitized by Google

us for a moment to the scene of his imprisonment, with its long and weary hours. We seem to see, as we look at the fanciful adornment of the letters, and the human faces peeping out from the flourishes, how the lingering time was whiled away upon this dearly cherished labour. The omission of the final word in the sentence from Virgil adds to its effect. Chivalrous and significant, it stands like an abridged motto on a shield. The original is of folio size, and the treatise occupies two hundred and forty pages, full of abbreviations, very closely written, and very far from so legibly as the ornamented page before the reader!"[1]

The closing words I can painfully confirm; for a more difficult handwriting than Eliot's is scarcely conceivable. This explains and mitigates Mr. Forster's and Mr. D'Israeli's misreadings; and may extenuate any oversights of mine, spite of conscientious pains.

As stated in the Preface, we feel constrained to furnish here evidence of Mr. Forster's mistakes. Our references are (1) to the place in the "Biography," (2) to the place in our reproduction.

Vol. i. p. 586 = p. 21. Besides changes in orthography, this misreads, "we shall then" for "wee shall *now*", and for "Strato in Pompeius, in occidente solis ortum quærere" substitutes "as Strato saith, seeke."

[1] Vol. i. pp. 584, 585. With reference to our facsimile, the block for Mr. Forster's "Biography" having fallen aside, and not to be found, I have had a fresh facsimile done from the MS. Herein I owe special thanks to my artist-friend the Rev. J. W. Ebsworth, as before. He has engraved it from his own copy of the original.

Digitized by Google

Vol. i. p. 587 = pp. 44-5. Changes in orthography, and "difficultie" for "difficulties", and "caution" for "cautions".

Vol. i. pp. 587-8 = p. 45. Changes in orthography, and "lawe" for "lawes", and "the priviledge" for "and priviledges", and "prince" for "he", and "law" twice again for "lawes".

Vol. i. p. 588 = p. 46. Changes in orthography, and "a monarchie" for "Monarchie", and "these" for "those".

Ibid. = pp. 46-7. Changes in orthography, and for "some insinuate" reads "Some would insinuate", and omits after "Israelites" "in the affectation of their King", and for "& what" substitutes "What then", and for "sack't" reads "search't"; and again omits a line and a quarter, "Though wee dare not . . . . generalitie", turning it into "we shall, in a few general instances."

Vol. i. p. 589 = p. 50. Changes in orthography and abundant mistakes and 'improvements,' *e.g.*, l. 3, "&" dropped; *ibid.*, "those" dropped; l. 4, "have we" for "wee have;" *ibid.*, "it" dropped; l. 6, "engag'd" dropped; l. 7, "are" dropped; and this whole clause, "and those of the highest ranke & reputation;" l. 9, "yet not" for "& not;" and *ibid.*, "for" for "but."

These half-dozen passages taken in their successive order, as quoted by Mr. Forster, are simply typical of the general unfaithfulness of his text to the Manuscript, and indeed, more serious remain behind. It cannot be needful to continue this disagreeable duty. The further quotations in the "Biography" will readily be found by the Student-Reader,

Digitized by Google

by going continuously forward from the last quotation on p. 589 (= p. 50 of our edition). Granted that the MS. is a difficult one, yet a little more pains would have revealed the meaning and saved 'improvements' and 'corrections,' *e.g.*, what an odd mis-reading is the following:—"The leaks are infidelity and distemper in the government; the Sands and Synks (!!!) are factions and divisions," etc. ("Biography," i. p. 591, bottom.) See our text, p. 28, l. 26, where the sense is quite clear.

The contractions of the Manuscript are somewhat peculiar, *e.g.*, comꝑhended = comprehended; ꝑportion = proportion; ꝑper = proper; ꝑts = parts; Sphear's = Spheares; Judicatur's = Judicatures; ꝑfitt = profit; oꝑation = operation; Ma:rs = Masters; distrãtions = distractions; ꝑalell = parallel; ſupficies = superficies; discoſ = discover, etc. etc.

§ 3. The Motif and Scope of the Treatise, with Representative Quotations.

Turning now from the man to his book of "The Monarchie of Man" and from these full details concerning its composition and consideration by pre-eminent friends, I have now—again following John Forster—to give an account of its *motif*, and such representative passages from it as will "express the character and tone of the composition, exhibit the course of its argument, and sufficiently show in a general way the execution of its design."[1]

The *motif* of the "Monarchie of Man" will be found

[1] Forster, vol. i. p. 580.

Digitized by Google

in its Author's Epistle "To the Reader"—restored to its place before the treatise. Thither the Reader is referred. It is characteristic of Eliot that he refused to dedicate his book—after his resolve to publish it—to any one. Contemporary 'dedications' were so fulsome and absurd—as a rule—that no self-respecting man could fall in with the custom. Even Bacon fawned and flattered James I.,—none the less, but all the more degrading that his language is rich and rare beyond most. Eliot speaks of the dedications of his earlier time, "as making impiety the patron to religion, prostituting virtue to vice, and bequeathing art to ignorance."

Bearing in mind what the Epistle "To the Reader" urges, that the composition of the treatise was "but a forme of recreation, not a businesse," and originally meant for the Writer himself alone: for in the same Epistle—as we have seen—he tells us "it travells with this bouldness, not in the confidence of itself, but upon the invitation of some others," I would now draw from Forster the GENERAL DESIGN of "The Monarchie of Man." It were superfluous pains to substitute another, seeing that originality herein is impossible, inasmuch as any truthful account must be narrative not exposition. It is possible indeed that it may be deemed supererogation altogether, giving the "General Design" from Forster, seeing that the treatise is itself now reproduced *in extenso*. But if I am willing to incur the additional expense in order to help my fellow-students as far as possible, he must be a fellow of "vinegar aspect" who hisses out an ingrate charge of—'padding.'

Digitized by Google

Those who read these full quotations from the "Monarchie," having tasted of its quality—though unused to such reading—may be tempted to turn to the great treatise itself and give "days and nights" up to willing as rewarding study of it as a whole.

The following then is the account in the "Biography":—

"Laying down the covenants and principles of civil monarchy, he proposed to apply them, by analogy, to the monarchy that man should exercise over himself. His broad rule of politics, derived from the confluence of all authority and reason, was, that monarchy was a power of government for a common good and benefit, not an institution for private interests and advantage; and, applying the same in morals, he held it to be possible so to rectify all the actions and affections to the rule and conformity of reason as to establish, by knowledge, a clear and firm habit and position of the mind. That in his view was to be happy. Not in greatness and honour, in riches or the like, was the elixir of happiness to be found; but, with a mind clear and firm, in any state or quality, and from the most simple being of mankind. 'The mynde being brought to that qualitie and condition, the facultie working on the object, not the object on the facultie, there is in any state, how mean or low soever, an equal passage and ascent to that great heigth and exaltation.'

"How then was this clearness and firmness of mind to be attained? By knowledge and intentions uncorrupted; by counsel liberal and just; by actions rectified and exact; by scorn of accident; by a propitious and even course and

Digitized by Google

constancy of life. If, by striking down the impediments that obstructed man's attainment to these ends, it was possible to reach them, was not the service of God implied therein? It was not for any man to doubt it to whom the wisdom and sublimity of the ancient ethics were known. 'Their speculations in philosophie doe preach divinitie to us and their unbelief may indoctrinate our faith! Is it not shame that we who are professors in the art, should have less knowledge than those that never studied it? That their ignorance should know that of which our knowledge is still ignorant, at least in the exercise and practice!'

"Wherein was it that Seneca had placed the chief good? '*Deo parere*, to be obedient unto God, to be obsequious to his will. *Hoc fac, ut vives*, was the motto of the law. Doe this and live. Live in all happinesse and felicity; in all felicity of mind, in all felicity of body, in all felicity of estate! For all these come from him; he only has the dispensation of these goods; and he that serves him shall have the fruition of them all. This was the notion of that Heathen, which, what Christian can heare and not admire it? It strikes a full diapason to the concord of the Scriptures, and concents with that sweet harmony! O let us then apply it to ourselves, and make his words our works! Let us endeavour for the benediction in the gospel, knowing these things to be blessed, that we do them!'

"Not then, as I have said, to replace religion by philosophy, but to call philosophy to the aid of religion, Eliot had written his treatise. The conviction arises irresistibly

Digitized by Google

in reading it as of a latent consciousness in the writer that his active life was closed. To outward appearance he had failed in the immediate objects of his public life, and the final adjustment of civil monarchy still waited to be done. But here was another monarchy to be rescued and regenerated; other tyrannies to be overthrown, needing not the help that deserted him in the former struggle; a government to be established within every one's accomplishment; the monarchy of man. If he could show that the power was not denied to any one, so far by steady and persevering effort to overcome the temptations and weakness of humanity as to ensure his own proper self-government, he might feel that the unyielding purpose, the unquailing endurance, the unmitigated hatred of every form of oppression, which had sustained himself in his trials, though for the present unavailing against the tyranny that was degrading his countrymen, had yet found a way to reach and to serve them. So might they by example be taught that qualities of this kind, however weak for the time against superior power, had always within reach another sort of victory which nothing could baffle or subdue; and that, supposing the public struggles of the time to be attended by disastrous issue, it was not for man, with his inherent independence, to admit the possibility of despair.

"To his friends indeed, as in what he had written for his preface to the treatise itself, we have seen that he disclaimed any larger design than that of whiling away the tedious hours of his captivity. He said it had been a rest to him from more serious labour; an intermission of re-

Digitized by Google

creation and repose from more important tasks, such, we cannot doubt, as the completion of his memoir on the parliament, and the collection and revision of his speeches, which we now know to have at the same time occupied him; but whether or not its graver purposes were designed consciously, they certainly give to it the character in which it makes present appeal to us. There are too many personal references in what he calls its 'political' or opening portion, not to connect, as we have seen Hampden and his other friends associating, the philosopher of the Tower with the statesman of the house of commons; not to lead us to the conclusion that the object of exertion was in both characters the same; and that these exalted meditations were a continuance, under other forms but in the same intense expression, of the active energies of his life. If the impression be also correct that the gradually failing health which is to be traced throughout his imprisonment, though never actually confessed by him till near the close, forbade him to hope that those energies might ever find scope or exercise again, the desire could not but be strongly present with him to make some such final effort to obtain a hearing for what he had most at heart. And this would account for his readiness, not evinced by him as to any other of the works he was busy with, not even as to his tract on government or his memoir, to give effect to the suggestion of friends that he should print and publish this Monarchy of Man. For recreation to himself it might have been written, but it was to be published for the profit and example of his countrymen. An example to console

Digitized by Google

them in temporary defeat; to carry ardour and enthusiasm unhurt through hard and heavy trial; to multiply their powers of resistance and endurance, by strengthening their moral purposes. In this view it completes and consummates his past exertions. His old brave fearlessness is in its inculcation of a perfect restraint and self-command; and the rapid force and grandeur of his younger days is in the magnanimity of its moral composure, maintained through this last scene of all."[1]

Further:—

"Of the general scope and aim of the work, it will be only necessary to remark here that it falls into the two divisions expressed in the title. 'Some questions of the politicks are obviously discust,' as a prelude to the analogy pursued between the civil and moral obligations which constitute Eliot's idea of his monarchy. And when, after laying down with elaborate learning and ingenuity the groundwork of his reasonings and comparisons, pursuing them in something of the manner which Sydney adopted in later time, through families, cities, and so on, he at last arrives at the rules and limits to be applied to the authority of princes, he thinks it necessary to say that he shall take only as they are emergent from his subject and arise naturally in discourse, the questions most in controversy touching the exercise of that power: not compelling, not courting, any that did not voluntarily come in and readily accost him; but yet not baulking, for any fear or difficulties, those that

[1] Vol. ii. pp. 664-667.

Digitized by Google

the occasion might present. 'Only this favor we petition, which candor will allow us for our encouragement in the worke, that no prejudice may impeach us in the censure of our reason *if it tide contrary to these tymes*, if it oppose the streame and current wee are in, superior or inferior.'

"In speaking at this point of acts and intentions he employs an illustration which already he had used in one of his letters to Bevil Grenvile. He is arguing that acts may have divers inclinations and effects, from the accidental intercurrence of new causes contrary to their institution and design. That to an act of virtue there might be a concurrency of vice, through the corruption and infirmity of the object. That, as not seldom happened through the depravity of men, a charity might be interverted to ill uses and so lose the fruit of virtue. That the council of Achitophel might be folly through an effect of wisdom. That equity might be converted to iniquity; justice into injury, or into cruelty of extremity; and that, in short, no virtue was in operation so sacred but circumstances might corrupt it, and divers effects follow it, from new causes and intentions intervenient.

"'Therefore, as the intention must be the indication of the act, the end must shew the intention. For as a good act may be ill done in respect of the intention, so the intention of what puritie soever may be corrupted by the end. If our descent and end shall terminate in the east; if our horoscope and ascendent shal bee placed in the period of the west; if we shall then, as Strabo saith, seeke the sunne itself rising in the west,—we cannot conclude

Digitized by Google

properly, or right. For the end of the great workman must direct us, not the effect and operation of the worke.'

"Government was in Eliot's view never to be regarded as 'supreme,' excepting for the welfare of the subject. If not expressly in the words, that was ever included in the sense; as the object of all such authority and power. And it followed likewise by inference and reason, if the use and interest were not severed. 'For, as Cicero saies, *res publica* is but *res populi*; and if the right and interest be the people's, soe should the benefitt and use.' Repeatedly in his treatise Eliot breaks into admiration of the Roman orator, statesman, and philosopher. 'Oh the height of this gradation!' he exclaims, speaking of the varieties and contrarieties in the world so beyond the understanding of weak man, yet so reconciled to order and agreement; 'which none but Cicero could climbe!' And through an exalted eulogy he proceeds, considering the famous Roman in all his aspects, 'resorting from the person to the cause, from the client to the advocate,' till he knows not 'whether his truth or eloquence be more admirable.'

"The supreme power of the State, Eliot reduced to two divisions: the first concerning the exercise of that power as it is distributive (in the persons of ministers) to others than the prince, which he confines within a strict observance of the laws; and the second reflecting particularly upon princes, and the privilege and prerogative of their persons, as to which, with a touching reference to himself and his imprisonment, he raises the question whether the laws should have operation thereon.

Digitized by Google

"'And this with more difficultie is involved, as lying within that misterie, the prerogative of kings, which is a point so tender as it will hardlie bear a mencion. We may not therefore handle it with anie roughness, least it reflect some new beame of terror on ourselves; but with what caution wee may, yet without prejudice to truth;—that in what freelie we have undertaken wee maie faithfullie bee delivered, and safely render the opinion which wee have without suspect of flattery.'

"Such a suspicion could not with any of his readers have outlived his next sentence, when, with sudden and indignant sense that the claims set up for princes in that day were even too absurd for argument, he exclaims that whether laws should have influence on kings could never fall into doubt. It was in right and conclusive! The only question could possibly be, within the laws, what bounds and circumscriptions should be given them, and in what compass and degree they should be limited and confined. After eulogy of the law not inferior to that famous one by Pym in his speech against Strafford, he puts the distinction between it and privilege.

"'Two things occur in this—the lawe and the priviledge of each country, in both which the subject has like interest. By the priviledge the prince is free from all things but the lawe; by the lawe he craves in all things to be regulated. By the priviledge he has a propriety of consent in the sanction of all lawes; by the lawe he has a certain rule and level by which to square his actions. By the priviledge all approved customs are received in the strength

Digitized by Google

and vigour of the lawes; by the lawe no actual repetitions shall create a custom, without acceptation and allowance. The lawe is *rex omnium*, as Pindarus says, the king and governour of all things; the other is *regi similis*, something like unto a king, as Bodin has it,—as absolute, though less known.'.

"He continues, with bitter scorn of the slavish sycophancy of his time:

"'For these laws and priviledges (which we shall join together, making but one joint subject of this question), the discussion will be easier if we turn our disquisition, and thus state it. What power the king has upon them? Wherein there is such a confluence of flattery, conducing to our prejudice; such labour to make a monarchie unlimitted, an absoluteness of government without rule; so much affection, or corruption rather, specified; such distortion and perversion of authorities to that end;—learning made prostitute to fallacy: religion turned to policie; heaven brought down to earth; light transformed to darkness;—as to attempt against it, is, now, to rowe against the tide! against the streame and current of these tymes to seek a passage unto truth!'

"Not the less had the philosophic patriot sought and to his own satisfaction found it. Nor would he contest with the Neiles, Lauds, Montagus, Sibthorps, and Manwarings: he could only pity them!

"'Some would insinuate, from the dehortation of the Israelites, a warrant and authority for the extention of that power. What then was said in terrour, they now

Digitized by Google

make it a conclusion of the right! Others inferr from the confession made by David, "Against thee only have I sinned," that princes offend not men, and therefore have a liberty upon them to do what acts they please. Which judgements we shall rather pity than contest! The heathens, likewise, both Greeks and Latins, have been search't to have their attestations for this sense—but how truly we shall, in a few general instances, soon shew!'

"And then he brings up what Prynne called his squadrons of authorities. Pliny, and Valentinian, and Tacitus are summoned, to prove that at a time and state when monarchy and empire had not their meanest exaltation, the laws were above the authority of princes, and had a mastery over men who claimed of all else to be the masters. Plato and Aristotle are called, to demonstrate in principle that nothing but ruin could be the fortune of that kingdom where the prince ruled the laws, and not the laws the prince (Eliot showing his scholarship here by clearing up a disputed passage in the last great writer, whom he calls the original and source of wisdom, and whose text he held to have been frequently altered by 'court parasites' of his age); and appeal finally is made to Cicero to apply both his Greek masters in practice, and adapt them to all times.

"'What more fully or more plainly can be spoken? What greater authority can be had, either for the persons or the reasons? The Greeks, the most excellent of them, and from whom the contrary is insinuated (but how truly have we observed by the way), the Latins likewise, and

Digitized by Google

not the meanest of *their* kind, whose judgements no posterity can impeach,—we have really and actually on our side. Princes and emperors consenting! We may confirm it by the examples of some others, if number be more valuable than weight; yet not as shall lessen the esteem; for if no other were produced, their worths might serve for a counterpoise to all opposites.'

"This was one of those arguments, not infrequent in the treatise, wherein its writer painfully and laboriously defers to a prejudice of his age, and distrusts his own genius, even for guidance in the present, without support and help from authorities of the past, which for that reason may be read with an almost touching interest. Hampden objected, as will be found hereafter, when this part of the work only was before him; comparing it to an exquisite nosegay composed of curious flowers bound together with as fine a thread, but expecting in the other part honey from his friend, somewhat out of those flowers digested, made his own, and giving a true taste of his own sweetness.[1] Eliot did not disappoint him. It will be seen, when he dropped these fetters of political discussion, into what beauty and grandeur he ascended; and how he mastered and moulded to his purpose, and impregnated with an original intellectual power, his variously fine attainments.

"It will not be out of place to interpose here the remark that Eliot is scrupulously exact in his method of quotation. Where the language of his authority is im-

[1] "See 'Biography,' ii. 611."

Digitized by Google

ported into his text, the book and chapter are carefully written down in the margin; and where the sense only is given, a note generally supplies the correct quotation and its reference. He must at least have had the companionship of many books in his prison. And though the bulk of his extracts from Plato and Aristotle are given in Latin, this is evidently as much for convenience of himself as of his readers; for when he resorts to the Greek character he writes it with too much neatness and labour to have permitted its constant use.

"His next great squadron of ancient writers are brought up to show, by examples of the princes[1] who have acknowledged the law's supremacy, that only by this means had they been able to exercise the highest power, finding in it their very majesty itself, their honour and exaltation. 'So much doth authority depend on law, and so much is submission to the law greater than authority.' At the close of the passage there is an allusion which was probably inserted after Hampden's criticism.

"'And the reason follows it, that the law is the ground of authority, all authority and rule a dependant of the law. The edict of Gratian was not only an edict for that time, but for the generations of succeeding ages, and for all posterity to come. Rightly, therefore, and most worthily, stiled an oracle. And in correspondence to this, is the moderne practice of these times. Almost in all the states

[1] "Among others, he dwells especially on Antiochus, Theodosius, and Gratian, giving the instances which will be found referred to on a later page in his speech against Arminianism, ii. 414-5."

Digitized by Google

of Europe, princes at the assumption of their crowns assume and take an oath for the maintenance and observation of the laws. So, if we look either into authority or example, the use and practice of all times from the moderne to the ancient, the reason is still cleare, without any difficulty or scruple, *de jure*, in right, that princes are to be regulated by the laws, that the law has an operation on the sovereign. Yet two things, we are told, do oppose, and are made arguments against this:—the honor and the profit of the king, which are said to have some prejudice by this rule. Many pretensions there are made, by those that are enemies to law, to inculcate this doctrine unto princes, which in particular to convince were not a task of hardness, if the danger exceeded not the trouble. But the infection of these times is uncompatible of such labours, when scarce the least disease is curable. We shall therefore follow them as wee did in the strength and assistance of authorities, which, in point of profit, do conclude that there is no fruit or advantage in injustice. *Ubi turpitudo*, says Cicero, *ibi utilitas esse non potest*—where shame and dishonesty inhabit, there profit cannot sojourne. And that dishonestie he puts for the violation of a dutie. Againe, *nihil utile quod non idem honestum, et nunquam potest utilitas cum honestate contendere.*'

"With the wiser princes he finely contrasts those who could not see that in effect it was they who themselves embodied and represented the laws, and that to be subject to themselves could be no dishonour to them. No man could be said to be inferior to himself; yet, to satisfy that

Digitized by Google

'honorable punctilio,' kings must become their own inferiors, and a loyal king be less than an illegal. But all power had root only in the wills of men. All empire and authority rested in the obedience of the subject, and the true form of obedience was comprehended in the laws. For the other kind of obedience imposed by fear and terror, it was false: false as the maxim that expressed it, *oderint dum metuant*, let them hate so that they fear. Thus were such men driven from extremity to extremity; hated because feared, and maintaining the fear because hated. Pursuing this argument, and contrasting with those consequences of fear the allegiance of an affectionate people, Eliot has occasion to refer to 'Fortescue, that learned chancellor of England,' and to 'Philip de Comines, that wise Frenchman.' An allusion may be added from a passage of great care and elaboration, wherein he illustrates the dangers incident to a prince by example of the pilot of a ship; as one of many recurrent instances drawn from the habits and pursuits of his earlier life.

"'The leaks, are infidelity and treachery in ministers; the rocks, inequality and distemper in the gouernment; the sands and synks, are factions and divisions; the winds and waves, the attempts and invasions of the enemie; the pyratts are the false and subtil underminers, that would robb and steale away all law, liberty, and religion.'

"The subject of parliaments occupies the closing sentences of the first or political portion of the treatise; and reviving from his favourite author among the Latins the image of that Roman tyrant which at Buckingham's

Digitized by Google

impeachment had struck such dismay into Charles, he suggests another silent parallel to the princes of the old time who sought to make parliaments the instruments of mischief by depriving them of parliamentary authority; affecting a love for them only to employ them for ill purposes; and under the cover of their sanction commencing projects which it was meant to carry on without them. There is not a more striking or significant passage in the treatise than this, in which he describes Tiberius 'squaring his profession out to justice though his actions spake the contrary;' and deceiving the consuls and the senate by his declaration against that danger and difficulty of sole government, *regendi cuncta onus*, which he had secretly resolved to assume. Eliot closes his description with some well-chosen passages out of Plato, and then dwells for a time on the nature of parliaments themselves and the various forms they have assumed. The powers which were granted them among the Jews at their sanhedrim, the several assemblies at Athens, in Ætolia, at Rome, in Carthage, and Sparta, are referred to. The evil designs of men who had poisoned the ears of princes with a jealousy of parliaments, are exposed; and some of the doctrines of Machiavel are held up to scorn. There is here a large quotation of authorities, and much use made of arguments by Philip de Comines. Incidentally there is high mention of the genius of Sallust, and enthusiastic eulogy of Aristotle, 'that *stupendum hominis*, that wonder and miracle of reason!' And with some general arguments out of Bodin he winds up his parallel between a tyrant and a king, striking

Digitized by Google

heavily at those unauthorized exactions of royalty of which men were tasting the full bitterness at the time when his treatise was written.

"'This feeds on the affection of his subjects, the other on their fears. This has his fears principally for them; the other has them for the objects of his fears. This takes nothing from his subjects, but on publick warrant and necessity; that drinks, carouzes in their blood, and does fatt him with their marrow, to bring necessity upon them.'

"The grander purpose of the treatise now comes into view—the consideration of the Monarchy of the Mind. It opens with some general resemblances of the metaphysical conditions of this government to the civil relations; carrying up the 'councillors of the mind' to their final aim, 'the good and perfection of all empire, the *bonum publicum* of the politicks, the *summum bonum* of philosophers, the *ne ultra* in felicity.' But there is a difficulty on the threshold. How shall the secret be opened? How shall that end of all labour, that scope and object of every hope, be attained, since even the wisest men, the philosophers of the old time, had not been able to agree as to what should be held for the consummation and perfection of happiness? Their differences are figured by the fable of Menippus.

"'He found nothing but confusion upon earth, nothing but incertainty with men. Doubt and ambiguity in some; dissent and contradiction among others; difference and disagreement among all. Then soe the philosophers, at least their sects in controversie, if not the particulars of all

Digitized by Google

kinds, yet the kinds of all particulars. The Stoicks and Epicureans opposed. The Peripatetickes varying from both. The Academickes differing from all. And these divided between the old and new, the Eretrians, Megarians, and Cyrenians, all in opinions separate and distinguished. Like Heterogenialls, rather, and things contrary; not as professors of one science, masters of philosophy, lovers of truth and wisdom!'

"Discovering nevertheless in all these differences certain uniform and constant elements of the truth, Eliot proposes to examine and distinguish them; and in accordance with this design he plunges into the various schools of ancient ethics, describing each and discussing its doctrine. Nor is merely well-versed scholarship here displayed. There is a wide compass of thought, and those uses and applications of learning which genius makes its own. A trail of light runs along the track of the old systems as we follow them over Eliot's page to the conclusion he seeks to establish; that, in a greater or less degree in all, there are positions established by which may be constructed, without other aid, his proposed monarchy of the mind. And, the possibility thus assumed, he exults in reciting the virtues which, once it is built up, shall tend to its immortal sustainment. But again he restrains himself. Before we triumph, we must subdue; and it may be necessary through sorrow to advance to joy.

"'We must do as Æneas did with Dido, through the sad storie of tragedies and disasters make a transition unto love. As mariners in rowing look contrarie to their

Digitized by Google

courses, so wee, in the search of happiness and felicity, must have our eyes upon the subject of our misery. Those we must first behold which are enemies of our state, and from them make a passage to our government. Wherein if, by knowledge of the adversaries, we can find meanes to conquer and subdue them,—if, by the strength and opposition of the virtues, we can overcome and subjugate the affections,—then we may triumph in our victorie, and in all securitie and peace erect that trophy of felicity, the *summum bonum* and cheife happiness of man.'

"From this point accordingly, onward to the close of the treatise, in a style which blends power with sensibility, and sweetness with grandeur, in a degree not surpassed by our greatest masters of old English prose, the impediments to man's happiness are treated, and the way shown for escape from the 'bondage and captivitie' that obstructs self-government. The first impediment is 'Feare,' and through all the chances that may occasion it Eliot passes with firm and unfaltering step. Describing the 'effects of power, sudden and various; wherein imprisonment and death, and that in a thousand forms, are threatened; in which both sickness and poverty are involved;' but in none of these finding real cause of fear, he takes up 'the next link of this chaine of our unhappinesse, another part of the fetters that we beare,' in that 'inexplicable piece of vanity, our Hope.' This however he does not regard as an unmixed evil, and the occasional exceptions are handled with a prodigious amount of learned allusion.

"'But not to be mistaken for want of some distinction

Digitized by Google

in this case, all hopes are not like, nor all enemies of our government, though all have one incertainty, by the trouble of expectation, and the dependance upon time. All have this vanity and weakness, that their rest is upon others, not in themselves, and in that respect they are obnoxious unto fortune. Yet all have not a participation in the evil; all are not sharers in the guilt; some are natural, and have their principles in nature.'

"Out of the unceasing agitations in which Hope keeps a man; the fear to lose, the jealousy, the satiety, and all the incidents that fall to it; Sorrow comes next in view, and is marked as the worst and least excusable of all the impediments named. For yet, says Eliot, fear has some resource of safety, and hope some desire of happiness.

"'These have somewhat for justification and apology, at least for excuse and extenuation of their evils. But sorrow only is inferior to them all. No argument can be made for her defense; she can pretend neither to happiness nor safety, nor to what might be subservient to either. As the professed enemie to both, her banners are displayed. She fights against all safety, and bids defiance unto happiness. Her ends, her arts, are in contestation of them both. Reason has nothing to alledge why sorrow should be used; it propounds no advantage in the end, no advantage in the act, but the mere satisfaction of itself, the sole expletion of that humour; therefore it is the most improper of all others, as incomparably the worst, and that likewise the effects and consequence on the body will show.'

"A subtle treatment of the selfishness of sorrow suc-

Digitized by Google

ceeds to this. It is not called forth, Eliot says, by the misfortunes of our friends, for that feeling is pity; nor by the triumph of our enemies, for that is envy. 'Sorrow is selfishness.' For the privation of whatever we hold dear, of whatever is in a tender estimation, nobler remedies are suggested by the imprisoned philosopher.

"'Sorrow is a perfect enemy, standing in such antipathy with happiness that it is irreconcileable for our government. Therefore, to this also we must oppose all the resistance we have; for this moves most violently against us; and, if it get possession of our hearts, if it once enter on that fort, all our happiness is gone; our monarchy is subverted! For it destroys the end, the felicity we look for, and then the means is uselesse. It dissolves it in the principle, and so brings it to confusion. For where sorrow is, no felicity can be, and a mind so affected can have no taste of happiness. To encounter it, therefore, as physicians do diseases, we will first meet it in the cause; for, if that can be removed, the effect forthwith will follow it. The object being gone, the affection must fall after it.'

"Let no man take upon himself, says Eliot, to regard things putting on the aspects of sorrow as therefore really sorrowful. He argues out the principle of the great poet of nature that a providence shapes to higher ends the roughhewn accidents of life. And, take it that that seeming of sorrow had really in it something of danger or alarm, the more need existed to oppose it, to resist it, and thereby to offer the example which to ordinary men would be invaluable.

Digitized by Google

"'For, are not soldiers sometimes heightened in their courage by the valour of their fellows? Do not the valliant often receive new fortitude and spirits by the acts of magnanimitie of others?' Has not admiration, has not emulation, this effect, to work the likeness of that virtue which it has seen before it? to reduce to act the image of that idea, which the apprehension has conceived, and, from the excellence of the pattern, to draw an antitype thereof. Wherefore were exhibited those bloody spectacles at Rome —those butcheries of men—those tragic representations to the people—but to inure them to blood, to harden them in dangers, to familiar them with death? And shall not better acts, to better ends directed, have the like power and operation? Shall not divinity, by the works of divine men opposing their afflictions, have as great force in precedent and example, as those Romans had by that fighting with beasts or contesting one another, to harden and encourage the minds of the more virtuous, against all difficulties, all dangers?'

"But there is an argument of greater worth to the same end. From Plato's noble commentary on the inscription of the Delphic oracle γνωθι σεαυτον, higher considerations are drawn.

"'It is required of man, that he should profit many. It is a common duty of mankind, as far as ability may extend, still to do good to all, or, if not that, to some, as opportunity shall be granted him. Or, if he fail in that, yet to his neighbours, or at least unto himself. But here, here, in this act of passion and wrestling with calamities,

Digitized by Google

there is advantage given for all. In this contestation of those things we call miseries, there is a performance of all these, First, to thyself, thou profittest through the favor of the Gods, that give thee this instruction, this education, this trial, this knowledge of thyself, this confirmation of thy virtue. Then to thy neighbours, and all others, thou art profitable by thy precedent and example. Thy fortitude adds courage unto them, stout and valiant. How, then,—how, in this excellence of duty, in this great duty of advantage, of advantage to ourselves, of advantage to our neighbours, of advantage unto all,—we should repine and sorrow, as 'tis a prejudice to our happiness it's a wonder unto reason!'

"Not even the last and best intercession that would seem to remain for sorrow—of a friend at his friend's grave—will Eliot admit. But how beautiful in this passage is the eulogy of friendship! How the words seem to crowd too thick for utterance, as the writer manifestly thinks of what in his own needs a friend had been to him![1]

"'Let me first ask this question of the sorrower. For whose sake that passion is assumed? For his that is so lost, or for thine own that lost him? Answer to this, and make a justification for thyself. If thou wilt say for his, where is the evil that he suffers? wherein lies the reason of that grief? Design it out; give it some character to express it. Is it in that he is dead? in that he has made a transition to the elders? That cannot be: for death contains no

[1] "See 'Biography,' ii. p. 491, &c."

Digitized by Google

evil, as our former proofs have manifested; but is a priviledge of immortality, an eternity of happiness. Is it for that he is not? that he is not numbered with the living? That were to lament but because he is not miserable. Thou canst not but acknowledge the distraction of thy fears, the anxiety of thy cares, the complexion of thy pleasures, the mixture of thy sorrows! With all these, and upon all, no rest, no quiet, no tranquility, but a continual vexation of thy thoughts, a servile agitation of thy mind from one passion to another! And wilt thou grieve for him, that has his freedom, his immunity from these? On the other side: is that sorrow for thyself, that thou hast lost a friend,—the sweetness, the benefit of his friendship —thy comfort in society—the assistance of thy business— the sublevation of thy cares—the extenuation of thy griefs —the multiplication of thy joys—thy castle—thy counsel —thy sword—thy shield—thy store—thy health—thy eye —thy ear—thy taste—thy touch—thy smell—the CATHOLICON of thy happiness (for all these are attributes of friendship)?—Consider, first, whether friendship may not change, whether a breach and enmity may not follow it, as not seldom happens in the most strict conjunctions, with which then no enmity may compare! Then 't were better thus to have lost it, that evil being prevented, and the obligation, the virtue, kept intire! But, if that doubt prevails not; if thou supposest a perpetuity in that friendship, an assurance of that love; is it not envy in thee, and unworthiness thereof, for those respects, those temporary benefits to thyself, to grudge at his happiness and felicity

Digitized by Google

which is infinite and celestial? Justice may resolve how far this is from friendship, how unworthy of that name! And how capricious is sorrow, subject to no government or rule. Marcellus wept when he had taken Syracuse; Alexander, to have no more worlds to conquer.'

"Concluding with the phrase of the ethicks, that to conquer, not those appearances or shows of ill, but what might be counted real calamities, 'not only makes a man a conqueror and wise, but equal, nay superior, to the gods,' Eliot eloquently banishes Sorrow from his government.

"But in reserve there is an enemy worse than any he has named.

"'And thus we see how these enemies doe threaten us. Fear does anticipate, hope divert, sorrow overturn, the happiness we look for; or, rather, they fight against the happiness itself; fear secretly undermining, hope circumventing, sorrow charging it at full. But, above all, the most dangerous is behind,—PLEASURE!'

"The cause of the peculiar danger that attends the indulgence of pleasure is shown to consist in the so false resemblance it bears in itself to happiness, that it is like to steal through all the 'guards and watches' that we keep, into our safest 'retreats and strongholds.' 'Nothing,' exclaims Eliot, amid much splendour of eloquence and reason, 'nothing is so petulant and refractorie, so exorbitant and irregular, as Pleasure. No rule, no law, no authority can contain her; but, like Semiramis, admit her government for a day, she usurps the rule for ever.'

"And here he pauses in wonder and reverence at the

Digitized by Google

Divine wisdom, working to its ends through means apparently so contrary; and exhibiting, even to the unassisted reason, triumphant proof of wise and perfect design. It is a noble passage, though one of those in which Eliot could not hope to carry with him the entire or unmisgiving sympathy of his puritan friends.

"'But here an objection or wonder may be made, how, from one fountain, such different streams should flow; how, from the self same head, such contraries should derive themselves; and that greater wonder may arise, how the great Architect and Workman, who gave being to all things in his divine wisdom, did so create the mind by the infusion of such principles, that the contrariety of their motions should threaten the destruction of his work! For faction and division imply this, and the dissension of the parts hazards the confusion of the whole. It 's a great cause of wonder in the thing, that it is so, but of far greater admiration in the reason. That he, thus wise, thus willing, thus able to give perfection to his art, should, in the masterpiece thereof, in his own portraiture and image, leave it with imperfection! This is enough for wonder and admiration (if it were so). But yet the next has more the inscrutability of that reason,—which turns these imperfections to perfections; which in these contrarities makes agreement; by these differences, these divisions, these dissentions, works unity and concord! This is a cause of wonder and admiration so transcendent, as human capacity cannot reach. O! the incomprehensible glory of the wisdom by which such secrets are disposed! We may see it

Digitized by Google

almost in every thing, as the effect gives illustration to the cause; and so in fact confirm, though we cannot penetrate, the reason itself. All things, almost generally, will demonstrate it. If we look into the universality of the world, or the concurrence of its parts, are there more contraries than in the comon materials they consist of? Can there be more antipathy than the elements sustain? What greater enemies than fire and water can be found? What more violent than their wars? And so with the air and earth. Dryness and moisture are opposed; than which no things can be more different; yet amongst these what a sweet league and amitie is contracted! What mutual love and correspondency they retain! Fire agrees with water, earth with air, the latter with the former, each severally with other, and so respectively with all! and that which is the perfection of them all, the composition which they make, the frame of those materials, the body so compounded, has its being and existence by the very mixture and diagram of these! Nay, by the want of either, their dissolution is enforced. So necessary is the contrarity of the parts, and the opposition which they make, that, without it, the whole cannot subsist. And thus as in the generals, so in the particulars from thence. In the immense infinitie of creatures, amongst the dead or living, are their antipathies to be numbered? Can arithmetic define the contrarities they have? Stone opposing stone, metal against metal, plant against plant; all war! And animate beasts contrary to beasts, fowls against fowls, fishes against fishes; in hate, in cruelty opposed, killing and de-

Digitized by Google

vouring each other; and yet all made serviceable to man! Amongst men, too, what contestations are there extant; what wars, what quarrels, what dissentions! Nation in antipathy with nation, kindred opposed to kindred, family against family, man against man! And, besides, how infinite is their difference and variety in temper, in affection, in condition; so that reconciliation seems impossible, and, without it, their subsistence. Yet in the revolution of that wisdom these things are so turned, in the divine wheel of providence their conversions are so made, that all move directly to one end! The alloy and contestation of the parts work the conservation of the whole.'

"From all which he would draw the inestimable lesson that in the moral as in the natural world things seeming to be evil are to the finer vision but forms of good; and that no man is to count himself really unhappy, under any of the accidents of mortal life, whose conscience remains pure and his will undepraved. What, for example, provoked more fear than Poverty, and more causeless fear? This is a subject treated at great length, and with extraordinary fervour. 'Are riches of that virtue that their want should seem so terrible? How many have they sold to misery and unhappiness! What worlds of men have they corrupted and betrayed! Corrupted in manners and affections, betrayed of their liberties and lives!' To which there follows a praise of poverty that might have satisfied Don Guzman himself. He tells the poor what they escape. He sums up the diseases of the rich, famous for excruciating pains; and contrasts with them 'the privileges of

Digitized by Google

poverty, the immunities of want.' He drags forth from antiquity a long list of illustrious poor; he speaks of the lives of Fabricius, Curio, Menenius, Valerius, and Seneca; he holds them up as the best of all examples to comfort and teach their fellow men. 'Who more valiant than Miltiades? Who more wise than Cymon? Who than Aristides was more just? Who more temperate than Phocion? Yet all these the poorest as the best of all their tymes!'

"Sickness he treats of next, as no just cause for fear; and from sickness, the silent and sad suggestion of his own uncared for suffering, he advances, through what he calls the powerless effects of power, to imprisonment and death, startling in their aspect, but of no real worth to frighten or to subdue.

"'To dispel the feare of that which power and greatness may impose, requires a harder labour, because the dangers seem far greater, and are more various, and more sudden. For—not to reflect on poverty and sickness as incidents to this (which wounds and confiscations do imply), those too frequent and too known effects of power—but to look forward and to view it in the other issues, which it has; disgrace, imprisonment, DEATH, and those in all their ugliness and deformity. This last is that tyrant which our apprehensions do so fear; that *monstrum horrendum informe*, which strikes us with such terror; this is that dire aspect, at which our resolutions do so fly; this is that traitor that makes such sedition in our government, and which we must the more carefully oppose for the vin-

Digitized by Google

dication of our happiness. In this place therefore we will deal only with it, and with the rest hereafter.'

"Into what he says of Death, Eliot throws all his eloquence. 'Death has its consideration but in terror; and what is assum'd from that, is, like the imaginations of children in the darke, a mere fancie and opinion.' With a melancholy fondness, the anticipation of approaching intimacy, he defends death as a friend might be defended. It had been slandered by those who could not have known it—'most untruly, most unjustly, slandered.' What was common to all, and designed by the most merciful, could not be an evil.

"'For either happiness it contains, or it repels calamity, or gives satiety and weariness an end, or does prevent the hardness of old age! A conclusion 't is to all; to some their wish; but to none more meriting and deserving than to whom it comes uncalled for! It frees from servitude, dissolves the chains of captives, sets all prisoners at liberty, and restores the banished to their country. All their sorrows and disasters have termination in this point. It has been called *humanis tempestatibus portus*, the harbour of human miseries, the sedation of our troubles. Implying thus the comparison of our life to a fluctuation on the seas, we as poor mariners sailing in the weak vessels of our nature and fortune, the wind tossing us by the continual agitation of her tempests, trouble being instant and upon us, danger most iminent and before us, hope fled, safety nowhere to be found,—Death only is the haven to receive us, where there is calmness and tranquility, where there is

Digitized by Google

rest from all these storms and tempests! In that port all fluctuations of our life are quieted and composed; nor winds nor seas have power upon us there; fortune and time are excluded from that road; there we anchor in security, without the distractions of new troubles; there without danger or hazard do we ride.'

"Very beautifully is Life presented afterwards by Eliot, in contrast with its dark neighbour, as only 'an inne to rest in, a lodging for the night, an hostelry in our travels, in our continual journey to the mansion of our fathers!" Nay, he says, life itself, taken at the best, is only made up of a variety of deaths; one passion perishing, and another succeeding but to perish. 'So that our whole life is but an exercise of dying; and all the changes and vicissitudes of nature, death—in a measure and degree! Why then should death be thought so terrible? Where is the reason of that feare?' Rather, he afterwards suggests, should it be counted a matter of triumph and glory.

"'What martyrs have there been even in the work of dying! More joying, more rejoicing, than in all the acts of life! The glory of the Deity, the incarnate majesty of the Son, those incomprehensible misteries of divinity then appearing to them, by revelation to their sense, or by illumination of the fancy,—the heavens opening to give free passage to their view,—these as it were descending unto them, giving them the possession here of that happiness, that eternal happiness and felicity which is the chief object of all hopes,—not that happiness we treat of, the *summum bonum* of this life, the *bonum publicum* of our

Digitized by Google

monarchy, but the supernatural felicity to come, the transcendant happiness hereafter!'

"Not, however, at these examples of the triumphant joys of martyrdom, sustained by the presence of the divine, will the imprisoned philosopher rest. There is a bravery coming nearer to his own, a grandeur of moral courage asking for no miracle to support or strengthen it.

"'I will resort to patterns of morality. Then, to see the confidence in them, the willingness and cheerfulness of dying,—take it from those Grecians, those three hundred at Thermopolis, who, for their country, opposed themselves to all the power of Xerxes: to those many millions of the Persians, whose thirst scarce seas could satisfy, nor whole regions for one day find provisions for their hunger! Yet unto these, those Grecians could expose themselves, so few against so many, for the safety of their mother. The clouds of darts that fell on them, they tearm'd an umbrell for the sunne; their danger they made glory; their death they thought their life; so far from terror was it that they made it the subject of their hopes. O happy men! thus for their country to have died! Most happy country, to have brought forth such men! whose death became the charter of her life, and to them a patent of immortality!'

"Kindling into yet greater fervour at the thoughts that crowd upon him of such sublime example, he peoples the solitude of his prison with men of Rome, of Athens, and of Sparta—'fellows whom Death itself might fear, sooner than be fearful unto them. Myriads of men,' he finely continues, 'are chronicled for a free acceptance of that

Digitized by Google

fate: women did scorn their children that did not scorn to flie it!' And as he thus recalls the past, an example nobler than all the others rises up, because completer in the elements of moral grandeur, in the perfection of self-controul, the monarchy of man. The philosopher Canius, celebrated by Seneca, stands before him:

"'Who died not as Cato, to avoide the dying by his enemies, nor suddainly, to prevent the torment of the time, nor as those Grecians in the heat of blood and danger, when death does come unthought of,—but giving it all leave of preparation, admitting all the circumstance of terror, in that form which his enemies had cast it, to the extremitie of their malice,—so he encounters, so he receives and meets it, even in its very contemplation! His speculations were upon it, it was the subject of his thoughts, and in that he valued it more precious than his life.'

"To this illustrious shadow of the past, Sir WALTER RALEIGH succeeds. His image had even yet scarcely vanished from the dark walls that surrounded the writer, and his spirit remained in the magnanimity of Eliot's soul. 'Shall I not add, as parallel to this, a wonder and example of our own; such as if that old philosopher were yet living, without dishonour he might acknowledge as the equal of his virtue? Take it in that—else unmatched—fortitude of our RALEIGH! the magnanimity of his sufferings, that large chronicle of fortitude!' The rest of the passage has before been quoted;[1] and it is an admirable specimen of the manner of Eliot, when, disencumbered of

[1] "See 'Biography,' pp. 34-5."

Digitized by Google

the authorities by which it was too often overlaid, it escapes grand and unfettered as his thoughts, of which Hampden truly said that, ascending a region above the clouds that shadow ordinary men, they were fit and able to pierce such heights.

"Still death lingers with Eliot, and he will not let the subject pass from him. Assuming that such instances of fearlessness in dying were of too exalted a character for emulation by all men, seeing that all had not the same motives or means of sustainment, he says, very beautifully: 'There is no affection within man but has given examples in this case. Hope, joy, love, sorrow, pity, fear itself, has conquered it, the weakest of all others! The mere fear of death has forced men to act the thing they fear.' And after some subtle reasoning to that point, he proceeds:

"'Therefore, that truth so known, we may in a generality conclude that death and fear are conquered both by love. Sorrow can do as much. And we have it in the infirmest of her daughters, Pity, which is the tenderest of all thoughts, yet that subdues this fear, as Tacitus notes it of the multitudes after the fall of Otho.'

"Yet even here Eliot closes not: still he dwells and lingers on the praises and the privilege of Death.

"'I shall then no more be sicke; I shall then no more be bound; I shall then leave off to fear; I shall then not dye again. If death were an evil at the first, then it shall be no more. All the crosses and disasters, all the calamities and afflictions, all things that are feareful or evil in this life, then shall I be free from! No death shall thenceforth be an in-

Digitized by Google

terruption to my happiness, therefore why should I fear it? But if death have all these priviledges, why then do we live? why do we not, as Cleombrotus, having read Plato's discourses of the immortality of the soul, precipitate ourselves? hasten to that excellence? press to that rich magazine of treasures? Why do we bear such miseries in life, there being such felicity in death? and the transition in our power, so facile and so ready? The answer with the ethicks is emergent: *mors non debet esse fuga actionum, sed actio.* Death must not be a flight from action, but an action. Subterfuge is the property of a coward; blows and wounds are the honor of a soldier. Dangers must not affright, but harden him, where the cause requires his hazard.'

"And so, with an increasing warmth of eloquence, impressing yet once more the necessity of subduing fear, 'though the sun itself should tremble, though the immense fabrick of the world should shake,' he closes with urgent counsel that all men, in all cases, should

"'Expect calmly that issue which time and virtue have appointed. Thus we must look for death; not as an enemy, but a friend; which in his own hours visits us, expects no invitation, may not be compelled, but has a free liberty before him. When he comes, he comes attended by many priviledges, decked with flowers of happiness, rest, and sweetness, and exemption of all the evils of life. Therefore there is not the least cause to fear him, or to raise that jealousy and distraction in our government.'

"The matter next discussed is the duty of opposing the

Digitized by Google

desires. With delicate and wise discernment he resumes his warning as to pleasure in connection with mere indulgences of sense; enlarges on its jealousies and restless irresolution; and depicts the cares, anxieties, and doubts, the thousand troubles and distractions that men in hope and men in love are charged with. 'Pardon me, Love, that soe hardly I have matched thee! it is my reason, not my affection, that doth speake it.' He shows the tragedies enacted by that passion, too many for theatre or amphitheatre to hold. He shows the insufficiency of its ordinary motives; and, speaking of the vanity of mere personal beauty, introduces those touching references to Overbury and his writings, that 'fortunate unfortunate piece of merit,' which already there has been occasion to quote.[1] He passes afterwards to riches, as another object of desire; and presents a fine companion picture to his deprecation of the evils of poverty.

"'Riches, wealth, the desire and passion to accumulate, these are all deceitful in their nature. Whereas we think them somewhat, when truth does speake them nothing; deceitful in their qualities—being flitting and uncertain, without any constancie or stabilitie, always wing'd, and flying from one subject to another; deceitful in their use—as we take them to be helpful to our happiness, though working the contrary by continuall anxieties and cares! Why should we then desire them, being no way to be trusted, but in all consisting of fallacie and frauds? Hast thou worth or meritt that might challenge them as due?

[1] "See 'Biography,' pp. 30-31; and lib. xii. § v."

Digitized by Google

That is a mysterie to them. They cannot discerne it. The worthless and the worthy are equal in their sense. They are the maine occasion of all differences, the *ager contentiosus*, as it were, the field of quarrel and contention, as that antiently neare Berwicke to the English and Scotch nations. If these be their proprieties [properties], how can we then desire them? If they be but serviceable to these, —if they have no fellowship with honesty, if they dissolve the powers of reason and of virtue, if they be distractive and contentious, blind, mad, deceitful, and uncertain,— what is it that should make that attraction in our hearts, and disturb our self-sovereignty and command?'

"Yet is there one mode, and only one, he says finely in leaving this subject, of converting the dross of wealth into real gold; and that is by the alchemy of virtue. You may have riches, you may desire them, if your purpose is to turn them to good. Make them, as the Latin poet had said, the instruments of virtue; let them be servants to that mistress. So you may live happily and well.

"Honour in the mere worldly acceptation is next considered as an object of desire, to be dismissed with scorn. 'Something still may be said for beautie and for riches; but the honour and glory that the world so names, have noe reality or substance, noe solidd being or existence, but are suppositious and imaginarie, like those essences of philosophers, *quæ quasi sunt*, as they say, which are but as if they were.' Such honour is born of mere report or fame, and let its origin show what it is. 'In the mother, fame, take the quality of the daughter, honour.' And then he

Digitized by Google

gives a striking paraphrase of the famous lines in Virgil's fourth book, 'illam terra parens,' &c. &c.

"After this follows a very masterly passage in which the claims of honour apart from mere report, but as little based on personal merit, are handled under cover of inquiry into the value of hereditary pretences to distinction.

"'And now to see whether this "honor" be confined within an order, limitted to persons and degrees, or left promiscuously to all, as their worths and qualities shall deserve it? Wherein let reason be the judge. Is it the reward of virtue or of fortune they would make it? Let them answer who so magnify this pretence. Do they apply that honor to their houses or themselves? Is it the distinction of their families, or the guerdon of their merits? If they will take it for distinction, 'tis but a name, and the poorest. The basest have as much, and small cause there is to glory in that subject. If it be the distinction of their families, the character of their houses, though it once implied a glory, what can it be to them more than treasures are to porters? But they will say, it is the glory of their ancestors, the acquisition of their virtues, "and from them it does descend hereditarily to us." So may the porter say. That treasure is his master's, and by his will imposed upon his shoulders: but to whose use, and in whose right, has he received it? in his owne, or to his owne profit and advantage? Masters would take this ill, if their servants should usurp it; and all men would condemn them both of falsehood and ingratitude. So is it, in the other, an injury to their ancestors, if they pretend that honor to be theirs.

Digitized by Google

They can but carry it to *their* use, as a monument of *their* virtues that acquired it, not in their own interest and right, to the glory of themselves; nay, not without their shame whose purchase cannot equal it, being but the sole inheritors of the fortune, not the worth. But if they waive their families, and reduce it to themselves,—between their virtues and their fortunes, how will they divide it? If fortune do appropriate it, then the most vicious, the most ignorant, the most dishonorable, may be honorable; slaves, and they, may be equal in this kind; for not seldom have they tasted the liberality of fortune, and this honor none will envy them. If virtue be the loadstone that procures it, where is it? Let them shew it in the effect, and then I hope they'll grant that all so qualified may be honorable. All men that have the virtue may participate. Where, then, is the propriety they challenge? where is that peculiar interest they claim? Certainly not in this. This honor will not bear it, which is the crown of virtue! All persons, all orders, all degrees extant, may be capable thereof. They are without exception or exclusion; and, for such other honors as are fancied, let them enjoy an immunity therein, I shall rather pity than malign them!'

"He turns to that other truer honour. Resuming and pursuing the suggestion of the great Roman poet, he contrasts the huge incapable energies of the Titans with the calm accomplishing grandeur of the Gods, and says that in the eyes of the latter, and to the perceptions of philosophy, fame is nothing, and its mere accidents of little worth.

Digitized by Google

"'In one word, honor is no other than to follow goodness. To be a servant unto virtue, is to be master of true honor; and without that service no honor can be had. Therefore the Romans, those most honorable above all men, in the temples which they dedicated, joined those of virtue and honor to each other, and to that of honor left no entrance or accession but through the gate of virtue; shewing by that symbol where true honor rests, and how it is attained, which is by following virtue. But how is that? how is virtue to be followed? in a fair and easy pace? will that conduce to honor? can honor be so had?'

"In the same spirit and tone the questions are answered; and, after strong reiterated protest against the hereditary claim to appropriate honour 'to any order or degree as is pretended,' for that 'to be gotten and descended even of princes is an accident,' the subject is closed by allusion to those enemies of tyranny among the Romans, whose honour, because it was true, outshone the worst envy of those times. Eliot had a peculiar right to call to mind these men, for in his own nature he combined some of their noblest qualities, the fiery energy of Cassius with Brutus's brave philosophy.

"'Tacitus notes it upon the funeral of Junia, where so many famous images were exhibited, the glory of their families, that Brutus and Cassius being omitted through the envy of those times, they outshined the rest because their statues were not seen. "*Eo ipso quod effigies eorum non visebantur prefulgebant*," as he has it. They being so concealed, their glory was the greater. Which shews that

Digitized by Google

honor is most had, when it is least affected. Why, then, should this disturb us with ambition? why should it make a faction in our government? why should it cause the distraction of our hopes? Ambition cannot purchase it, the hope thereof is in vain; no art, no practice, can acquire it, but by the rule of virtue. And so only as the virtue is intended, let virtue be our aim. Leave that desire of honor. Let it not be a worke of our affections, for in that case we must fight with honor as with enemies.'

"It will have been remarked with what close reasoning, with what unwavering steadiness of moral purpose and design, the main object and argument of the treatise are sustained. Eliot now examines his position.

"'And thus we see from the several objects of desire, how little cause there is for that disturbance and impulsion. Honor contains no reason, being rather an enemie than friend to that affection, flying and not following it. Beauty has as little, consisting but of vanity. Riches much less, that are but instruments of corruption. Also for fear, poverty, death, sickness, and the like, which have as small warrant and authority for that passion. Let us now search what more there is in Pleasure, that counterfeit of happinesse, and apply our laws to that. For, being the most dangerous of our adversaries, it must the more cautiously be dealt with.'

"To that subject accordingly he reverts, with the view of impressing more strongly in connection with all the rest the duty of self-restraint. A number of authorities are brought to bear upon it; and occasion is taken to express

Digitized by Google

the most exalted admiration of Homer as the father of literature and philosophy, greatest in both, 'a prophet and a poet.' Eliot amuses himself here also with notices of Lucian's comments upon the supreme Greek master; and from the resistance of Ulysses to the Syrens he draws and depicts with extraordinary vividness the lesson of a perfect self-controul. That wise prince bound himself, he says, restricting his own liberty.

"'But wherewith was that done? What were the obligations he incurred? How shall this come to us? Most properly and most readily, if we will endeavour but that means, if we will use the example of that worthy. The same safety is for us, which was then wrought to him; and that, this great prophet has delivered with all sincerity and fulness. You know he makes Vlysses then on ship board. And that much experienced man, most curious of all knowledge, would needs add to that the musick of the Syrens, the perception of that excellence; though not trusting to himself for the resistance of their powers, in which both danger and destruction were implied. To avoid this, he feigns to be fastened to the mast; his men, meanwhile, do intend their labours, having their senses stopped (vulgar appetites being not capable of such dainties). Now, as this musick was but pleasure, those Syrens the occasion, so the virtues were the cords that did restrain and bind him, reason the mast to which he was so fastened, philosophy the ship in which he sailed and went;—and in this ship, thus fastened to that mast, having had both the occasion and delight, he escap't the dangers threatned, and

Digitized by Google

in that preserved the safety of his course. But what was that? the same that is our government,—the way to happiness and felicity!—This was his Ithaca, this was that course intended, and with those helpes, notwithstanding all the difficulties, this he accomplished and performed! Now is not this a plain direction unto us? Is not our remedy, our deliverance from this danger, aptly expressed in this mirror and example? Our syrens are not more, their harmonies not stronger; the same ship we have, with the same tackle; the same ropes, the same mast, continue still. Cannot our course, then, be the same? Is not the same safety yet before us? If we doubt that tackle will not hold us against those strong enchantments, let us stop our senses, as Vlysses did with his men, and first avoid the occasions. Nothing is lov'd, not known. Let us, then, stint our curiosity herein, and the desire will leave us. But how is that? how shall that work be done? Is it to shun all pleasure, all occasions? That cannot be, nor is it requisite to this. For virtue in the concrete is not absolute, nor to be so expected in our monarchy.'

"The true touch of wisdom is in all this; and the deep and subtle spirit with which the whole exposition is conceived has further vent in a remarkable closing allusion to the sole condition that could ever render safe the harbouring of pleasure. Moderation and sobriety of indulgence are compatible with self-restraint.

"'We daily see it in experience, that those who have least affections are most violent (least, I mean, extensively, in respect of number and the object); their passions being

Digitized by Google

impetuous as contracted to that narrowness, and masterless in that. As Tacitus notes it in Tiberius, who, being most reserved and hidden unto all men, to Sejanus yet was open and incautious. So it is likewise unto others. The heart, being straightened by some objects, growes more violent in those passions; the affection does inlarge, as the scope thereof is lessened. Therefore we thus expose that precept of division: that pleasures may be a remission to the mind, not an intention—that we may taste, not swallow them—that the appetition may be obtemperate to reason, wherein only true pleasures doe consist.'

"The obstructing passions, the impediments to man's monarchy, thus disposed of, the philosopher turns to the elevation of the monarchy itself; and dilates upon the virtues by whose exercise and operation, condensed into two great purposes, the structure is to be raised.

"'Our next care must be how to obtain the virtue, how to possess the means, which must procure that end. And if that can be acquired, then is our felicity complete, then we have that perfection of our government, the *summum bonum* in philosophy, the *bonum publicum* in our policy, the true end and object of the monarchy of man. Two parts it has—action and contemplation. Of which the first divides itself into two branches like the virtue, *agendo* and *dicendo*, doing and saying, both which concur to action. By doing, is intended those travailes and motions of the body that are necessary in the performance of those works which the duty and office of our callings require;—by saying, is meant the expression of the tongue, whereby the

Digitized by Google

intelligence of the heart is made communicable to others, and the thoughts are conveyed to the understanding of the hearers. In these two all action does consist, and so that part of the virtue and perfection. Both these have one rule of level and direction, which we did touch before, as the cõmon duty of mankind. In that duty their office is implied, which is that it be profitable to many. To the general good and benefit it must be extended; first to all, then, after, to ourselves.'

"A striking and valuable reminder is at this point interposed.

"'For all right of office is destroyed by the inversion of this order. To reflect first upon ourselves, our own particular interests, and then upon the general, is the contrary of duty, the breach of office and relation. Therefore to the publick, both our words and actions must first move; without respect, without retraction, for our private. They must first intend the common good and benefit, and so descend by degrees unto ourselves. For as members are in bodies for the perfection of the man, so men in bodies polliticke, as parts of these societies, and for the conservation of the whole; and to that end their chief endeavour must incline.'

"With a noble fervour Eliot resumes. And in the few following lines we may read the governing principle of his own life, the practice and moral of his own career, the sacrifices and self-denial he had offered in his own person before the altar of duty.

"'Here some questions will arise;—how far this shall

Digitized by Google

engage us? what latitude it imports? what cautions and exceptions it admits? Difficulties may occur, and those involve us in anxieties, with troubles and perplexities disturbing our tranquilities, distracting the quietness we are in. And shall we forsake that sweetness? shall we neglect that fatness of our peace (as the fig and olive said of old) for the publick use and service? for the profit and commodity of others? YES! no difficulties may retard us, no trouble may divert us, no exception is admitted to this rule! but where the greater good is extant, the duty and office there is absolute, without caution, or respect. That greater good appearing, nothing may disswade us from the work—no respect of ease, no respect of pleasure, no respect of the troubles we may meet,—but in performance of that duty, in accomplishment of that office, our troubles must seem pleasant, our labours must seem facile, all things easy, all things sweet therein;—for the rule is, *Officium non fructum sequi*, to observe the duty, not the benefit, to seek that end which is propounded in the general, not to propound an end and reason of our own. But dangers may be incident? it may betray our safeties, and expose our fortunes, expose our liberties, expose our lives, to hazard?—And shall we, then, adventure upon these? shall we forsake our safeties? shall we incur those dangers, for foreign interests and respects, for that which concerns but others, which is foreign unto us? YES,—this likewise we are bound to, our obligation lies in this. No danger, no hazard, may deter us. The duty and office stand intire.'

"In Eliot's division of the virtues necessary to the

Digitized by Google

structure of his proposed monarchy will be recognised the old principle of the ancients distinguishing the characteristics of wisdom, and separating the end of things to be done from the ways conducing thereto. Very beautiful is the passage that follows in praise and exaltation of philosophy.

"'But how may *this* wisdom, then, be had? where may we seek and find it? The answer is most obvious,—in the doctrines of philosophy. For philosophy is the introduction to this wisdom; so both the word and reason do import: for by the word is signified onlie a love of wisdom, a love of that wisdom which we speak of; and that love will be accompanied with an endeavour to attain it, which is intended in the common sense and notion. For that science of philosophy is but a guest of wisdom, the study of that excellence. And so Plato gives it in his gradations unto happiness. Philosophy is the first step he makes, as the desire of wisdom;—to which he adds the study, and contemplation to attain it. From that study and speculation he arises unto wisdom, from that wisdom unto happinesse. So that philosophy is the principle. Wisdom does there begin, which has its end in happinesse; and happinesse in this order is the production of philosophy. In summe, all contemplation is but this, but the study of philosophy. If it ascend the heavens to veiwe the glory of that beauty, philosophy does direct it. If it descend to measure the center of the earth, philosophy goes with it. If it examine nature and her secrets, philosophy must assist it. If it reflect on causes or effects, that turn is by philosophy. The con-

Digitized by Google

templation of all ends, all beginnings, all successes, is propounded by philosophy. So as philosophy, in contemplation, is as prudence in the virtues, the architect and chief workman, that gives motion and direction to the rest. Great is the excellence of philosophy, as it is chief in contemplation, and the accomplishment of that virtue. Greater much it is, as it is a principle to wisdom, and an instructor of the counsell. But beyond all comparison it is greatest, as it is the first degree to happinesse, as it leades in to that perfection of our government! No words can sufficiently expresse it, nor render a true figure of that worth. Being in contemplation, contemplation only must conceive it.'

"The question next arises, which of these great divisions is to be regarded as the highest and most perfect? As an exercise of the faculties, in pure and single grandeur, Eliot at once pronounces in favour of philosophy, of contemplation: but is careful at the same time to modify this by pronouncing no wisdom complete without the active practices of virtue. Speaking on the first head he urges the superior greatness of the contemplative philosopher, in regard that his thoughts are fixed on the final intelligence.

"'And he that levels at that mark, though he come short, yet shoots higher than he that aims but at man. Besides, there is this advantage in it: that nothing can be *contracted* from the president to prejudice or corrupt it, which lower examples may induce; but much perfection may be *added*, by the elevation of the mind: as chemicks in the disquisition of the elixar, though the wonder be not found, yet have extracted great varieties by that labour,

Digitized by Google

excellent demonstrations by that work. It is the way in part to resume the image wee have lost, for that was not an outward figure, but a resemblance in virtue. If that similitude was laid in virtue, it cannot so aptly be repaired as by the imitation of the Deity, in whom the exactness of all virtue does remain. This help philosophy does give us in the speculation of eternity;—and likewise it derives to our present view and prospect the knowledge of all antiquity, in what *their* happiness consisted, what were the ingredients of that compound, and how it was lost at first, whence the judgment may resolve what is true happinesse to us.'

"On the second head, however, he immediately subjoins:

"'But if so,—if philosophy and contemplation have this fruit, that these degrees of happinesse be in them, and so direct a way to happinesse itself,—how is it that we involve us in such toils, such anxieties and perplexities, to acquire it? It is a vanity and folly, by such hard labour to effect, when a less trouble, a less travail, comes so near. If philosophy and contemplation can procure it,—*those sweet and gentle motions of the soul,*—what need the co-operations of the body, those actions and those passions which virtue does require, and which so often force distraction, nay, destruction upon men? Yet they are needful; for without virtue, true happinesse cannot be, and these compose the other half of virtue. For contemplation and action make the whole. Virtue consists only in both, and in part there is no perfection. Therefore to contemplation, action also

Digitized by Google

must be joined, to make a compleat virtue; and by that virtue alone true happinesse may be had.'

"And, desiring not to be misunderstood in what before he had said of the supreme claims of the contemplative virtues, he adds, with intimation that he will discuss the matter more fully in a future treatise (a design interrupted by death), that contemplation must still be considered as the chief.

"'For contemplation is the beginning of all action, the principle of that motion: action but a derivative of that, and no derivation can be equal to the primative, no second comparable with the first. All actions are but the emanation of the will, and the will receives her instance from the apprehension of the mind. But still both must be concurrent. Virtue is a composition of them both. Contemplation must prepare the matter of our happinesse, action dispose and order it.'

"The great purpose accomplished, the structure raised on those foundations, Eliot closes his labour with an exalted eulogy on the independence and superiority of the mind of man. I present it entire. It is worthy to have closed a work of so much nobility in the conception, and marked by a variety and beauty of detail that might have given to the memory of our loftiest writers in prose fresh fame and lustre."

I venture to intercalate for myself, that the fine simplicity and tight, tense wording of this close is very admirable.

"'This makes up that perfection of our monarchy—

Digitized by Google

that happinesse of the mind, which, being founded upon these grounds, built upon these foundations, no power or greatness can impeach. Such is the state and majestie, that nothing can approache it, but by the admission of these servants; such is the saftie and securitie, that nothing can violate or touch it, but by these instruments and organes; such is the power and dignitie, that all things must obey it. All things are subject to the Minde, which, in this temper, is the commander of them all. Noe resistance is against it. It breaks through the orbes and immense circles of the heavens, and penetrates even to the center of the earth! It opens the fountains of Antiquitie, and runs down the streame of time, below the period of all seasons! It dives into the dark counsells of eternitie, and the abstruse secrets of nature it unlocks! All places, and all occasions, are alike obvious to it! It does observe those subtil passages in the air, and the unknown pathes, and traces, in the deeps! There is that power of operation in the minde, that quickness and velocity of motion,—that in an instant it does passe from extremitie to extremitie, from the lowest to the highest, from the extreame point ot'h west to the horoscope and ascendant in the east. It measures in one thought the whole circumference of heaven, and by the same line it takes the geographie of the earth. The seas, the air, the fire, all things of either, are within the comprehension of the minde. It has an influence on them all, whence it takes all that maie be usefull, and that may be helpfull in its government. Noe limitation is prescribed it, noe restriction is upon it, but in a free scope it

Digitized by Google

has liberty upon all. And in this liberty is the excellence of the minde; in this power and composition of the minde, is the perfection of a man; in that perfection is the happiness wee look for,—when in all sovereignty it reigns, comanding, not commanded; when at home, the subjects are subject and obedient, not refractorie and factious; when abroad, they are as servants, serviceable and in readiness, without hesitation or reluctance; when to the resolutions of the counsell, to the digests of the laws, the actions and affections are inclined,—this is that *summum bonum* and cheife good which in this state and condition is obtain'd! The minde for this has that transcendence given it, that man, though otherwise the weakest, might be the strongest and most excellent of all creatures. In that onlie is the excellence we have, and thereby are we made superior to the rest. For in the habits of the body, in all the faculties thereof, man is not comparable to others, in sense and motion far inferior to many. The antients suppose it the indiscretion of Epimetheus, having the first distribution of the qualities, to leave us so defective, when to the rest he gave an excellence in their kindes. As swiftness and agilitie to some, strength and fortitude to others; and whom he found weakest, these he made most nimble, as in the fowls and others it is seen; and whom he found most slow, to these he gave most strength, as bulls and elephants do expresse it; and so all others in their kindes have some singularitie and excellence, wherein there is a compensation for all wants; some being armed offensively and defensive, and in that having a provisional security.

Digitized by Google

But Man only he left naked, more unfurnished than the rest: in him there was neither strength nor agility, to preserve him from the danger of his enemies: multitudes exceeding him in either, many in both; to whom he stood obnoxious and exposed, having no resistance, no avoidance for their furies! But in this case and necessity, to relieve him, upon this oversight and improvidence of Epimetheus, Prometheus, that wise statesman whom Pandora could not cozen, having the present apprehension of the danger by his quick judgement and intelligence, secretly passes into heaven, steales out a fire from thence, infuses it into man, by that inflames his minde with a divine spirit and wisdom, and therein gives him a full supplie for all! For all the excellence of the creatures he had a far more excellence in this. This one was for them all. No strength nor agility could match it. All motions and abilities came short of this perfection. The most choice armes of nature have their superlative in its arts. All the arts of Vulcan and Minerva have their comparative herein. In this divine fire and spirit, this supernaturall influence of the Minde, all excellence organicall is surpast; it is the transcendant of them all; nothing can come to match it; nothing can impeach it; but man therein is an absolute master of himself; his own safetie and tranquilitie by God (for so we must remember the Ethicks did expresse it) are made dependant on himself. And in that self-dependance, in the neglect of others, in the intire rule and dominion of himselfe, the affections being composed, the actions soe directed, is the perfection of our government, that *summum bonum*

Digitized by Google

in philosophie, the *bonum publicum* in our pollicie, the true end and object of this MONARCHY OF MAN.'

"And so death found the writer, absolute master of himself. The throne of his prison sufficed for that monarchy; and he was satisfied to take his place among the sovereigns whose power has its beginning, not its ending, at the grave."

Surely very grand by its very simpleness of wording—in striking contrast with much of involute and parenthetic preceding,—is the close of this remarkable treatise. He has led us through many labyrinthine walks of thought, speculation and reading; but at last we stand in open daylight, and breathe an unsullied atmosphere, and catch celestial and classic voices joining in attestation of the grandeur and supremacy of Man as restored by the grace of God to his original harmony of body and soul.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

Page 7, last line, '*mellifluous*' = honey flowing.

„ 9, l. 2, '*anſweering*'—note spelling, and so l. 10, 'beeing', and l. 14, 'thee' for 'the', *et alibi:* l. 4, '*preſident*' = precedent: l. 6, '*compßhended*': l. 8, '*ꝑportion*'—see Introduction II. CRITICAL, p. 139, on these and other contractions of the MS.: l. 13, '*in excellency & ꝑportion what paralell may it*

Digitized by Google

have,' &c. To my ear there are echoes of Hamlet here, and elsewhere: ll. 17-20, onward—the style, as frequently, involute and parenthesis on parenthesis: the thinking is always in advance of the form.

Page 10, ll. 17-18, '*to applie it onely to ſuch thinge that ſubiect to appropriate*'—perhaps a comma after 'thinge' would have been better in this somewhat obscure *bit*: l. 3 (from bottom), '*theire*'—our misprint 'there.'

11, l. 1, '*degrees*' = gradations, steps, *i.e.* compounded: cf. p. 14, l. 20: l. 14, punctuate comma after 'compoſ'd.'

12, l. 6, '*accomptable*' = accountable.

13, ll. 6-19, specially noticeable: l. 18, '*vnivarſall*'—note the 'a' for our 'e.'

14, l. 4, '*Heliotropium*' = turnsoles or sunflowers. In a letter to Hampden Eliot has the same allusion. See Forster, i. 585.

16, last line, '*delates*' = dilates or dilatates. Cf. p. 19, l. 6 (from bottom).

17, l. 8 (from bottom), '*covenable*' = convenable, *i.e.* convenient. Nares quotes from Holinshed's Chronicles:—"he taryed there a long time, for a *convenable* wind; at length it came about even as he desired."

18, l. 16, punctuate: after 'included': l. 18, *ibid.*: l. 24, '*gradation*' = step-ascent.

19, l. 8, '*aſcenting*' = assenting.

Digitized by Google

Page 20, l. 2, '*aſſignees*' = persons to whom an 'assignment' is made—a legal term: ll. 8-9, '*intercurrence*' = passing or running between, Latin *intercurrens:* l. 13, '*interverted*' = turned to another course, Latin *interverto:* l. 20, '*intervenient*' = coming between, interposed.

21, l. 3, '*horeſcope*' = horoscope: l. 4, '*period*' = end: l. 21, '*Machination*' = contriving—deteriorated since: l. 26, '*proſpiritas*' = prosperitas. Cf. p. 23, '*benifitt*'.

22, l. 15, punctuate: after 'ancients': p. 23, l. 6, '*comfort*'—read (meo judicio) 'conſort'.

24, l. 3, '*neceſſaty*' = necessity. Cf. p. 27, l. 18: l. 8, '*intend*' = attend.

25, l. 1, '*tecture*' = texture, *i.e.* covering?: l. 7, '*Surrogation*' = deputy: l. 3 (from bottom), punctuate ; after 'defect'.

26, l. 5, '*conduction*' = guidance?

28, l. 10, '*Pyrats*'. Doubtless Sir John was thinking of Nutt. See Memoir: l. 11, '*intention*' = attention?: l. 9 (from bottom), read '*move*' for 'more': l. 4 (from bottom), '*Syrts*' = syrtis, pl. syrtes = two gulfs on the northern coast of Africa. Forster misreads here oddly. See Introduction II. CRITICAL, p. 139.

29, last line, '*ſublevation*' = act of raising on high, elevation.

Digitized by Google

Page 30, l. 18, '*wealth*'—qu. 'health'?

31, l. 10, '*refultance*' = result or consequence: l. 9 (from bottom), '*prevaricates*' = shifts or turns aside: last line, '*infeſtuous*' = infectious?

32, l. 6 (from bottom), '*degrees*' = steps. Cf. p. 11, l. 1, and other reference.

33, l. 1, '*illiſtrious*' = illustrious: l. 2, '*Pioners* [our misprint 'pioneers'] *doe in mynes*' &c.—reminiscences of his native Cornwall: l. 12, 'ſteame' [our misprint for 'ſleame'] and '*pituity*' = phlegm or mucus: l. 13, '*cognation*' = kindred, relationship.

35, l. 1, punctuate: after 'trueth': l. 19, '*vulgar*' = common, familiar, well-known.

36, l. 18, punctuate comma after 'reſt.'

38, l. 14, '*ſynecdocke*' = synecdoche, a figure or trope by which the whole stands for a part or conversely: *ibid.* '*correption*' = chiding, reproof: l. 18, '*concludes*' = shuts, makes fast: l. 21, '*Syntaxis*' = construction of sentences.

40, l. 14, '*additament*' = addition.

42, l. 6, '*fourme*' = form.

44, l. 1, punctuate: after 'Lawes': l. 11, '*Judicture*' = judicature: l. 12, '*reguleted*' = regulated.

45, l. 2, punctuate: after 'mention': l. 11, '*coer-*

Digitized by Google

cive'—a miswriting apparently here: l. 18, punctuate : after '*intereſt*.'

Page 47, l. 13, '*miſterie*' = masterie ?: l. 16, '*Greenway*' —he only partially translated Tacitus. See Lowndes, s. n.

48, l. 2, '*par*' = equality ?: l. 7, '*infortunities*' = misfortunes.

50, ll. 5-6, '*detract*' = abate or lessen ; cf. p. 76, l. 6 (from bottom): l. 20, '*if number be more valuable than weight*'—a phrase in modern use.

51, l. 10, '*Rhetra*' = maxim, saying.

52, l. 8, '*convince*' = evince, make good: l. 9, '*or*' —read '*of*': l. 10, '*incompatible of*'—we say '*with*': l. 7 (from bottom), '*poſterne*' = back gate.

53, l. 1, for 'y^e' read 'y^t': l. 15, '*conteſtation*' = strife, dispute.

54, l. 12, '*l'envoy*' = farewell: l. 5 (from bottom), w = w^h *i.e.* with.

56, l. 18, '*mantaine*' = maintain.

57, l. 2 (from bottom), '*illate*' = infer.

58, l. 5, '*Forteſcue*' = Sir John Fortescue, the illustrious author of the imperishable "De Laudibus Legum Angliæ": died about 1485, aged 90.

59, l. 6, '*Comineus*' = Philip de Commines: died Oct. 7, 1509.

60, l. 9, '*tenters*' = stretch ?—MS. on a relook seems

Digitized by Google

'teinters': last line, '*arrogation*' = arrogance, infallibility.

Page 61, l. 6, 'puented' = anticipated: *ibid.* '*traduct*' = derived from: l. 8, '*convenable*'. See note on p. 17, l. 8, and also p. 67, l. 9 (from bottom), and p. 86, l. 1, 'inconvenable': l. 12, '*Cenſure*' = judgment.

63, l. 11, '*aſpect*' = respect?

64, l. 7 (from bottom), '*radicate*' = rooted; l. 4 (from bottom), '*chlamide*' = chlamys, *i.e.* tunic or loose coat.

65, l. 1, '*Panaretus*' = all virtue: also p. 81, l. 5 (from bottom): l. 2, '*concinitie*' = fitness, suitableness: l. 4, '*contempate*,' and l. 10, '*contemperation*'; also p. 71, l. 7, '*contempering*' = tempering, temperament.

68, l. 8 (from bottom), '*retar'd*' = hinder. Cf. p. 71, l. 12, 'retarding.'

69, l. 5 (from bottom), '*latitude*' = extent?

70, l. 7 (from bottom), delete period (.) after 'facts'.

73, l. 7 (from bottom), '*the Pſalmiſt does expreſſe it*'. Psalm cxxxiii. i.

74, l. 13, '*credable*' = credible: l. 15, '*infortunate*' = unfortunate.

78, l. 6 (from bottom), '*Baſilike*' = basilisk.

79, l. 5, '*munifient*' = munificent.

81, l. 6, '*collucation*' = resistance: l. 12, '*conſolide*' = unite.

84, l. 5, '*period*' = end.

Digitized by Google

Page 85, l. 3, '*contentation*' = contentment.

86, l. 1, '*inconvenable*' = not convenient: l. 4, '*thorough*' = through. So l. 8.

87, l. 1, '*Heterogenialls*' = not agreeing: l. 4, '*aporie*' = apery, aping, imitativeness.

88, l. 9, '*appetition*' = appetite, desire: l. 9 (from bottom), '*affect*' = have affection for: l. 6 (from bottom), '*appetance*' = appetite.

90, l. 3, '*participate*' = share, distribute.

92, last line, '*fect*'—miswriting here apparently.

94, l. 16, '*adiaphoris*' = ἀδιαφορος = indifferent: l. 3 (from bottom), '*profluous*' = progressing, flowing in a course.

95, l. 18, '*ppitions*'—read 'u' for 'n': l. 19, '*reflection*' = throwing back.

97, l. 11, '*defiderable*' = desirable: we still use 'desiderate': l. 16, '*equivocall*' = equal-voiced?

98, l. 2 (from bottom), '*deter*'—a miswriting here apparently for 'determine.'

100, l. 9 (from bottom), '*infinition*' = infiniteness?: l. 8 (from bottom), '*recollection*' = bringing together again.

101, l. 15, '*laie*' = laity?

103, l. 3 (from bottom), '*being*': a frequent contemporary and later grammatical form.

104, l. 8 (from bottom), '*the*' = thee, as before, '*thee*' = the. So p. 105, l. 5.

Digitized by Google

Page 105, l. 3, '*Elegie*' = lament or plaint: l. 2 (from bottom), '*neotericall*' = recent, modern.

106, l. 6, '*acquiſite*' = acquired: l. 11, '*propenſe*' = disposed, inclined.

107, l. 17, '*Ambuſcado*' = ambuscade.

108, l. 1, '*excuration*' = obscuration.

109, l. 2, '*contemperate*'. See note on p. 65, l. 4: l. 12, '*covinted*' = convenient?

110, l. 7, '*goale*' = gaol.

111, l. 8 (from bottom), for 'as' read 'is.'

112, l. 3 (from bottom), '*cognation*'. See on p. 33, l. 13.

114, l. 1, '*accentively*' = accentuatedly? l. 9 (from bottom), '*incompatible of*'. See on p. 52, l. 10.

115, l. 14, '*exanimate*' = lifeless, soul-less.

119, l. 1, '*affectively*' = as affecting.

120, l. 10 (from bottom), '*cenſure*' = judgment.

121, l. 10, '*conteſtation*'. See on p. 53, l. 1: also p. 135, l. 12: l. 17, '*exiccation*' = drying up.

122, l. 5, '*convenable*'. See on p. 17, l. 8: l. 3 (from bottom), '*inexpectation*' = unexpectedness.

123, l. 2 (from bottom), 'apper[it]ion'. Cf. p. 88, l. 9.

124, l. 11, '*cunning artifice of Sinon*' = the 'wooden horse' of Troy: l. 13, '*ports*' = gates: l. 16, '*fatili = tie*' fatality.

Digitized by Google

Page 125, l. 15, '*inexpleable*' = inexplicable.

126, l. 12 (from bottom), '*Ethnicks*' = heathen: *ib.* '*divert*' = divergent?: l. 8 (from bottom), '*maine*' = chief, principal: last line, '*appetition*'. See on p. 88, l. 9. So *frequenter*.

127, l. 7, '*laſciviats*' = wantonizes.

128, l. 3, 'o'—'f' of 'of' dropped.

130, l. 5, '*againe*' = against; l. 4 (from bottom), read 'must [be] voluntary.'

131, l. 6, '*indigene*' = indigenous.

133, l. 12, '*Diagram*' = figure or draught.

134, l. 11, '*redintigration*' = redintegration.

136, l. 15, '*difficutie*' = difficulty: so l. 21: l. 18, '*corruped*' = corrupted.

137, l. 1, '*entreated*' = treated.

138, l. 5, '*interne*' = internal, inner: l. 8 (from bottom), '*preludimus*' = preludiums: l. 3 (from bottom), '*conclusion*'—our misprint for 'concuſſion.' So p. 140, l. 12, conclusion = confusion? beclouding?

139, l. 15, '*doctor*' = teacher, instructor.

141, l. 12 (from bottom), onward. To be read *cum grano salis*. Civil war takes life, and the poorest suffer otherwise.

142, l. 1, '*proprietie*' = property: l. 4, '*faculties*' = departments, *e.g.* of a University.

143, l. 1, '*admittable*' = admissible: l. 16, '*deter-*

Digitized by Google

mine' = end: l. 7 (from bottom), '*ſublevation*'. See on p. 29, last line.

Page 144, l. 3 (from bottom), '*Hortalus*' = son of *the* orator by Lutatia.

145, l. 5, delete comma after 'reſt': l. 17, '*intention*' = attention (earnest).

146, l. 3, '*unparalell'd*' = unparalleled: l. 6, '*obtrectation*' = detraction: l. 3 (from bottom), '*conteſtation*'. So *frequenter*, l. 2 (from bottom), '*repugnance*' = resistance, unwillingness: last line, '*reluction*' = reluctation, reluctance.

147, l. 3, '*inform'd*' = unformed.

148, l. 19, '*like children's imaginations in the darke, a meere fancie and opinion*'. Cf. Bacon's 2d Essay (1625), 'Men feare *Death*, as Children feare to goe in the darke'.

150, l. 10 (from bottom), '*Sedation*' = quieting.

151, l. 1, '*excuded*' = excluded.

152, l. 3 (from bottom), '*apart*' = a part.

153, l. 2, '*Arideus*,'—qu. Aridaeus, the friend and lieutenant of Cyrus? Scarcely.

154-5, last line insert — before contrary, and after 'conceiu'd'.

155, l. 10 (from bottom), '*hoſtery*' = hostelry or inn.

156, l. 13, '*pſidents*' = precedents.

157, l. 4, '*inſulting*' = triumphing: l. 6, '*Chirurgians*' = surgeons: line 9 (from bottom), '*vmbrele*' = umbrella, shadow: l. 3 (from bottom), '*pattant*' = patent.

Digitized by Google

Page 159, l. 16, '*to*' = too: *ib.* '*matches*' = mates, equals: l. 9 (from bottom), '*preſidents*' = precedents: l. 5 (from bottom), punctuate: after 'feare'.

160, l. 5 (from bottom), '*ſubdues this feare*'. Again Bacon was in Eliot's mind:—"It is worthy the observing, that there is no passion in the minde of man, so weake but it Mates, and Masters, the Feare of *Death:* And therefore Death, is no such terrible Enemie, when a man hath so many Attendants, about him, that can winne the combat of him. *Revenge* triumphs over Death; *Loue* slights it; *Honour* aspireth to it; *Griefe* flieth to it; *Feare* pre-occupateth it; Nay we reade, after *Otho* the Emperour had slaine himselfe, *Pitty* (which is the tenderest of Affections) prouoked many to die, out of meere compassion to their Soueraigne, and as the truest sort of Followers" (Essays, ii. ed. 1625). The reference to Otho shows that this is not a mere accidental coincidence.

160, l. 10, '*incompatible of*'. See before: and also p. 176, l. 8 (from bottom): l. 15, '*ports*' = gates.

161, l. 7 (from bottom), punctuate comma after 'happines'.

Digitized by Google

Page 163, l. 17, '*reluctation*' = reluctance: l. 18, '*affectations*' = affections.

165, l. 2, punctuate: after 'vs': l. 6, '*ꝓvention* = anticipation.

167, l. 9 (from bottom), '*inexpleable*'. See on p. 125, l. 15.

169, l. 5, '*vnfortunate peice of meritt*', viz. Sir Thomas Overbury, whose poem of 'The Wife' went through many editions. The original is as follows:—

> "And all the carnall beautie of my Wife
> Is but ſkin-deep, but to two ſenſes knowne;
> Short even of pictures, ſhorter liv'd than life,
> And yet ſurvives the iove that's built thereon."
> (Ed. 1614.)

The full title is "A Wife, now the Widow of Sir Thomas Overburie, Being a moſt exquiſite and ſingular Poem on the Choyſe of a Wife."

170, l. 4, '*tables*' = tablets, portraits?: last line, '*Theorme*' = theorem.

171, l. 5 (from bottom), '*affected*' = liked, chosen.

172, l. 3 (from bottom), '*expected*' = excepted.

173, l. 12 (from bottom), insert —, after 'kill' and after 'man'.

174, l. 8, '*obſtupified*' = stupefied, dumbfoundered: l. 16, '*illation*' = inference.

178, l. 3 (from bottom), '*cognation*'. See before.

Digitized by Google

Page 179, l. 9 (from bottom), read '[to] diſcouer,' certainly.
181, l. 11, '*interne*' = internal, as before.
183, l. 8 (from bottom), '*confectarie*' = confection or confectionery.
184, l. 4, '*optimates*' = very best.
185, l. 11 (from bottom), '*affected*' = liked, chosen, as before.
186, ll. 3, 4. Cf. Milton's 'last infirmity of noble minds.'
190, l. 7, '*minion*' = favourite—since deteriorated.
191, l. 8, '*diſtraction*' = division (violently): l. 16, '*continuate*' = continual.
192, l. 6, '*obtemperate*' = obey: l. 16, '*ſuppoſitions*' = supposition.
193, l. 12, '*terrene*' = earthly: l. 13, '*propenſions*' = dispositions, inclinations.
197, l. 15, '*Theoricke*' = theoretic or theoretical: and so '*practicke*', l. 17: l. 3 (from bottom), '*many trayl'd*' = many trialled: *ibid.* '*Maximus Tirrius*' = Tirrius, p. 166, l. 2.
198, l. 2, '*minion*' = favourite, as before: last line, '*familiar*' = familiarize.
199, l. 5, '*on*' = one: l. 5 (from bottom), '*neſcious*' = not knowing.
201, l. 3, punctuate period (.) after 'reason': l. 17, place ? after 'aſſum'd': last line, '*pplexion*' = perplexity.
202, l. 8, '*ſublevation*'. See before: l. 12, insert comma after 'ſmell'.

Digitized by Google

Page 204, l. 6 (from bottom), '*captivate*' = taken captive.
205, l. 9, '*Ethicks*'—qu. = Ethnicks. Cf. p. 207, l. 3.
206, l. 1, '*moderatrix*' = ruler.
207, l. 9, '*actions does*' = collective noun.
208, l. 16, '*as y^e figge & oliue ſaid of old*'. Cf. Judges c. ix.
209, l. 17, '*illation*'. See before.
210, l. 7, '*poſt-poſ'd*' = post-placed, placed after: l. 11, '*infinition*'. See before.
216, l. 7, '*concreditt*' = intrust: l. 9, '*it is*' = is it?
218, l. 7 (from bottom), '*gradations*' = steps, degrees, as before: l. 6 (from bottom), '*ſtopp*' = pause.
219, l. 1, punctuate: after 'this': l. 2 (from bottom), '*Ethicks*' = Ethnicks, as before.
220, l. 7, '*hee that levells at that marke*,' &c., onward to '*Chemicks*'. Again Bacon reminiscences from his remarks on 'Alchemy.'
221, l. 2, '*ſcantling*' = pattern: l. 13, '*let*' = hindrance.
222, l. 1, '*whether*' = whither: l. 6 (from bottom), '*determine*' = end, as before.
225, l. 2, punctuate ; after 'earth': and period (.) l. 4, after 'mind'.
226, l. 11, punctuate: after 'furies.'

A. B. G.

END OF VOL. I.

CHISWICK PRESS: C. WHITTINGHAM, TOOKS COURT, CHANCERY LANE.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

3 2044 058 273

WIDENER LIBRARY
Harvard College, Cambridge, MA 02138: (617) 495-2413

If the item is recalled, the borrower will be notified of the need for an earlier return. (Non-receipt of overdue notices does not exempt the borrower from overdue fines.)

WIDENER
JUL 11 2006
MAR 19 2006
CANCELLED
BOOK DUE

WIDENER
SEP 06 2007
FEB 10 2008

Thank you for helping us to preserve our collection!

Digitized by Google